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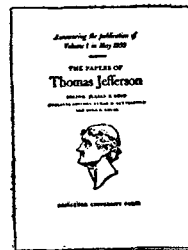
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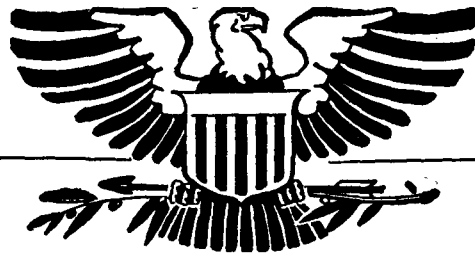
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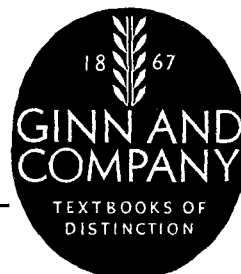
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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LV, No. 4

July, 1950

The Background of the Spanish Revolution of 1868

WILLARD A. SMITH

THE revolution which drove Isabel II from her throne in 1868 has a significance beyond its effect upon the course of Spanish history in the nineteenth century. For a brief moment it dispelled the cloud of obscurity which had covered Spain for over two centuries, after her period of brilliance and power during the *Siglo de Oro*. Its most patent consequence for Europe was the eventual candidacy of Leopold of Hohenzollern for the vacant throne, producing the awaited explosion in Franco-Prussian relations. The Leopold affair has long drawn the attention of the scholarly world toward the contemporary Spanish question and was the inspiration for a plethora of monographic and tendentious writing well known to students of nineteenth century Europe. With few exceptions, however, attention has been concentrated almost exclusively on the Hohenzollern candidacy with the focus on France and Prussia. Most other aspects of the situation have been neglected, with only sporadic glances at the country which occasioned the war of 1870. Equally little attention has been given to the other candidacies to the throne which were at the time of international interest.

The result of all this has been to obscure the curiously important role Spain played temporarily during the last days of the Second Empire, the emergence of Bismarckian Germany, and the rise of a unified Italy. Though Spain was no longer one of the great powers of Europe, the revolution of 1868 and the periods immediately preceding and following it were factors of some moment in a dynamic situation. Spain for a while became a valued pawn in the game of European politics. To understand more fully her interrelation with the major developments which preceded and followed the war of 1870, as well as to have a clearer view of the domestic history of Spain since that era, it is of interest to summarize the background of the revolution of 1868.

It is possible to venture two generalizations about mid-nineteenth century Spain. First, she was in a certain sense a microcosm of contemporary Europe. Enough of the *ancien régime* remained to offer stubborn opposition to the secular liberalism which was winning victories nearly everywhere. There remained a significant part of what Europe had been before the French Revolution, resisting forcibly the advent of innovation. However, into Spain flowed the moving doctrines of the age—constitutionalism, republicanism, socialism, anticlericalism, nationalism, and the industrial capitalism that was an integral part of the stream. There is hardly a phenomenon of nineteenth century Europe which does not find its counterpart in Spain, unless it be the conflicts of racial nationalism found in their quintessence in the Habsburg dominions. Even here, a parallel might be seen in the autonomist sentiments of Catalans, Basques, and Murcians which rent the country with discord during the sorry republican experiment of 1873-74.¹

The second generalization that helps to a comprehension of Spain is that most of the clichés about the country were true. It was a country of marked social classes. The grandee towered over the peasant and the bourgeois. A constant succession of military adventurers passed across the political stage and the army was a large factor in the destiny of the nation. The priest was at hand at every turn; in every church was the group of women ranging from the peasant wife with her superstitions to the lady whom a traditionalist society kept innocent of things of the intellect. Typical in any class of the nation was the adamant individualist whose slogan was "all or nothing," be it the emotional anarchist of Barcelona or the statesman at Madrid whose

¹ Good accounts of early federalist republicanism are found in Enrique Vera y Gonzalez, *Pi y Margall y la política contemporánea* (Barcelona, 1886), II, 908-16, 934 ff.; D. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal* (Barcelona, 1936), VIII, 155 ff.; D. Modesto Lafuente and D. Juan Valera, *Historia general de España* (Barcelona, 1890), XXIII, 325-27.

amour propre was the despair of foreign diplomats. There was the particularly Spanish glitter of noble society at the capital, reminiscent of the New World empire and its gold, long since vanished except in the memories of a proud nation. These are all clichés, but all of them are true.

There is another *mot* about Spain: she was a nation of saints, soldiers, and scholars. But here fact parts with phrase, and it becomes apparent that the saints, soldiers, and scholars of the period were poor ghosts of their ancestors. Ximenes, St. Dominic, and Loyola were now replaced by an undynamic and reactionary clergy, allied by interest and in subservience to the monarch, the noble, and the general who were attempting to close the door upon their century. The soldier was busy no longer with building empires or defending the Cross but with palace revolutions or skirmishes with Moroccan tribesmen. The scholar had surrendered his pre-eminence to the Frenchman, the German, the Russian. After the seventeenth century one looks vainly for a Spaniard among the great names in the sciences and the humanities, even in theology. Intellectual leadership had passed from Spanish hands, and the impulses that were to transform the nation came mainly from without. Perhaps one reason for the confusion and instability of nineteenth century Spain, for the intensity of conflict and the diversity of direction, was that the nation as a cultural and social organism had not found an essential and inherent means of expression after the great transitions of the seventeenth century destroyed the pattern of the European world in which Spain had shone. Its *Geist* was lost or submerged, out of tune with the world outside, and turned in upon itself to shrink and harden until external forces should break the crust. Then the Spanish mind turned violently toward new patterns, in sanguine bursts of energy.²

The convulsions and the struggles had perforce produced a social and political structure that was an odd mixture of old and new. The Spain of Isabel II (1833-1868) was a peculiar compromise between that of her father, the detested Ferdinand VII, and that which a vigorous minority had tried over and over again to construct, since the French Revolution and its sequel. The church, the army, and the nobility still dominated the country, with the growing competition of a very restricted bourgeoisie. The Spanish church was the epitome of traditional reaction, and its position as a strong support of the throne was enhanced by the ultramontanist of Isabel II. Pius IX had

² Rafael Altamira, *Manuel de historia de España* (Madrid, 1934), pp. 511 ff., gives a picture of the Spanish liberals' uncompromising rejection of Spain's past as vitiated by absolutism and their lack of confidence in the nation's culture and energies. The final chapter of his *History of Spanish Civilization* (London, 1930), tr. by P. Volkov, contains a cogent résumé of the intellectual trends of the century. See also Salvador de Madariaga, *Spain* (New York, 1943), chap. vi, for a similar view of the aimlessness of the era.

no more loyal ally and advocate, and the Spanish clergy found in the queen an indefatigable defender of their interests. The church leaned more heavily on the crown than in past centuries, for its once great wealth had been lost to the state by a series of expropriations and nationalizations begun by Charles III (1759-1788) and renewed during and immediately following the first Carlist war. The major despoliations in the ten years following the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833 were wrung by the liberals from the regent, Maria Christina, only because she saw no other means of financing the fight to save her daughter's throne. She was the reluctant ally of the opposition to Carlist clerical reaction.³

Stripped of its economic independence, the church by the Concordat of 1851 became the ward of the government, which supported it financially and maintained its monopoly. Protestant countries like England and Germany upon occasion made known their dissatisfaction with the treatment of non-Catholics.⁴ It was common knowledge that Isabel was under the persistent influence of the clerical party and that she was strongly swayed by such persons as Père Claret and the notorious Sor Patrocinio, a mild female version of the Russian Rasputin. From the court downward the prelates were at hand where it benefited them strategically, most of the time unobtrusive but beligerent when renewed attacks put them on the defensive. They controlled the educational system, such as it was, save for a few of the larger universities, notably that of Madrid.⁵ If Spain's intellectual and academic atmosphere was sterile, here lay much of the reason. Whereas in other countries the school was often a vehicle for liberal or secular thought, in Spain it served a contrary purpose. It is true that the lower clergy, as in France, were not always of a mind with their superiors, as some of them showed in the collaboration they offered to the government that emerged after the fall of Isabel. But the hier-

³ The standard work on the nationalization of church property, written from the church viewpoint, is that by the legalist José María Antequera, *La Desamortización eclesiástica considerada en sus diferentes aspectos y relaciones* (Madrid, 1885); less specialized is Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid, 1880-82). A substantial anticlerical study of the church in Spain is that of Luis Morote, *Los Frailes en España* (Madrid, 1904); E. Allison Peers made a popular but well-documented pro-Catholic argument of the question in *Spain, the Church, and the Orders* (London, 1939).

⁴ Layard, British ambassador at Madrid, to Foreign Secretary Derby, Jan. 7, 1875, F. O. 72/1405 (dispatch number lacking); Layard to Derby, Feb. 3, 1875, F. O. 72/1406, no. 148; Russell, British ambassador at Berlin, to Derby, Jan. 12, 1875 (enclosure in Derby to Layard, Jan. 13, 1875, F. O. 185/567, no. 25); Derby to Layard, Mar. 10, 1875, F. O. 185/568, no. 101. (The foregoing and subsequent references to British diplomatic correspondence are to the Foreign Office files in the Public Record Office in London. F. O. 72 covers correspondence from Madrid, F.O. 185 communications from London to Madrid. The following number is that of the volume, the last that of the dispatch.)

⁵ Barely 20 per cent of the population could read and write. Another 4.5 per cent could read but not write. Junta General de Estadística, *Censo de la población de España* (Madrid, 1863).

archy exhibited a defiant truculence even at moments when the papacy was in a mood to soften its opposition to the provisional government.⁶

During the troubled years following the revolution of 1868 the church lent its main effort to combating an unfriendly government and to regaining the privileges it had enjoyed under the Bourbon monarchy.⁷ Allied economically and ideologically with the crown—often with the Carlists and hence more reactionary than the queen herself—the age-old authority and influence of the church, permeating every level of Spanish society, was a major and strongly conservative factor both within and outside the country. The strength of the Spanish church and the ultramontanist of Isabel's government were matters to be reckoned with in the decade when both Catholic and Protestant Europe were concerned over the struggle in Italy between the papacy and the emerging Italian state.

It is typical of Spain that the army should come next after the church in any description of the country. Perhaps, in terms of the immediacy of its political action, it deserves first place. Compared with any other country except possibly Prussia, the military played a disproportionate role in matters of state. As in Prussia, the aristocracy and the military were closely identified, and to try to distinguish them would be somewhat artificial. The marked difference was that in Spain the *arriviste* had every chance of success—Espartero and Prim are outstanding examples—and admirals and generals as commanders of armed men, rather than members of a hereditary class, made their political way and controlled to a large degree the government of the country. During the reign of Isabel the leaders of government were almost universally military—Espartero, Narvaez, Gonzalez Bravo, O'Donnell. Of the four most prominent figures in the group that overthrew the queen two, Prim and Serrano, were generals and one, Topete, was an admiral. It might almost be said that the army and navy *were* politics. At least they provided ready access to the political world; military success or influence in the army was a formal invitation to participation in government. The army was heavily overstaffed with high-ranking officers burgeoning with ambition for advancement and prestige. In a country where the pronunciamiento had ac-

⁶ Mercier de l'Ostende, the French ambassador at Madrid, wished that Spain "were freer than it is from a party which is more papal than the Pope and which exercises over the conscience of the queen an influence whose effects I have several times had occasion to point out." Mercier to Moustier, Nov. 29, 1866, in Bartholdi to La Valette, Apr. 9, 1869, France, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Les origines diplomatiques de la guerre de 1870-1871* (Paris, 1910-32), XXIV, 156-57. (This series is hereafter referred to as *O.D.*)

⁷ Vera y Gonzalez, I, 882, II, 15; Jerónimo Becker, *Relaciones exteriores de España* (Madrid, 1924-26), III, 198-200; Layard to Granville, Mar. 13, 1871, F.O. 72/1274, no. 61, and Apr. 25, 1871, F.O. 72/1310, no. 12; Jervoise (Rome) to Derby, May 29, 1874 (enclosure in Derby to Layard, June 22, 1874, F.O. 185/556, no. 184).

quired the sanction of tradition, it was inevitable that an anxious queen or prime minister should seek to mollify potential insurgents with civil and military posts which would buy their allegiance. It was chiefly for this reason that such a large number of civil positions were held by the military aside from the fact that the aristocratic class, from which the monarchy in the main drew its officialdom, put its sons in uniform as a matter of course and pushed their advancement with whatever pressures they could exert.

Rivalry between ambitious officers contributed also to party instability and intensified the bitterness of party conflict in Spain, since they often sought their goals through identification with political factions. The conservative parties in Spain, and in the case of Espartero and Prim the Progressist party, were more often than not headed by a general. The support a man could command from his troops and the extent of his alliances with other military leaders were the chips in a many-handed poker game. More than bluff, they were the deciding factor on more than one occasion. Espartero owed his high office in large part to his successes in the Carlist war in the 1830's and to his popularity with the army. It was conceded by contemporary observers that Prim held the whip hand over the Progressist party because of the numerous elements among the troops who would follow where he led; the Progressists could not afford to lose him.

Also much commented on was the venality among the military, not to speak of civilian politicians. It was common practice to buy the adherence of army officers to a political venture, or their neutrality in case of need. In his campaign to secure the crown for himself, the duke of Montpensier was known to have expended large sums among the military in his intrigues against both Isabel II and the government that followed her.⁸ Isabel used money regularly in her efforts to maintain her throne against sporadic threats of revolution, to keep in office the ministry she favored at the moment, and later to regain for her son the throne she had lost. Both the Carlists and the republicans in the period following the revolution found their efforts at insurrection thwarted by lack of funds to buy garrison commanders or higher officers whose prices were frequently steep and who had all the advantages of a seller's market.⁹ It is not intended to imply that the Spanish army was for

⁸ Ballesteros, VIII, 101-102; Antonio Pirala, *Historia contemporánea* (Madrid, 1875-80), III, 383; Vera y Gonzalez, II, 115, 875 ff.; Bartholdi to La Valette, Apr. 9, 1869, in *O.D.*, XXIV, 156-57. Layard wrote in 1872 of Montpensier's continued use of money "on a large scale in endeavors to corrupt the officers of the army, who are unfortunately open to this influence, and have invariably been the principal promoters of disorders in this country." Layard to Granville, Jan. 1, 1872, F.O. 72/1309, no. 1.

⁹ Theodor von Bernhardi, *Aus dem Leben Theodor von Bernhardis* (Leipzig, 1901-1906), IX, 50-51.

sale to the highest bidder. What is of importance is that, venality apart, the role of the military in Spanish politics was of primary significance.

It is difficult to give a well-rounded picture of Spain's aristocracy, the group which next deserves consideration. It may be said that the grandee conformed most truly to the conventional image formed of him, but exaggeration must be avoided. He was usually rich, proud, and splendid. He owned large properties and sometimes followed a military career. He was Catholic and unflinchingly royalist. He was often able, sometimes well educated, occasionally aware of the stream of literary and intellectual activity that trickled in from France and Germany. As a member of an elite class he had an esteemed position in society; he exercised great economic power; and if he chose he could rise high in the realm of government. But as a class the aristocracy was not politically predominant as it had been in previous centuries. The revolution of 1812, the struggle against the absolutism of Ferdinand VII, and the constitution of 1837 had removed the aristocracy as a group from its wonted hegemony. It was as individuals, abetted by their economic position, their social prestige, and their affiliation with the army, that some continued to play a major role in statecraft, and these individuals did not represent their class. A majority engaged in no political activity on a national scale, contenting themselves either with their status as lord of the manor on their properties or by giving passive support at Madrid to members of their class whose leadership they were willing to accept. The minority who formed the palace aristocracy were merely servants of the crown. The decadence of the nobility as a political entity was graphically illustrated when Amadeo, duke of Aosta, became king of Spain in 1871. As a class they disdainfully boycotted the distasteful Savoyard and furnished one of the few instances when they had a potent effect on politics.¹⁰

This does not mean that members of the nobility did not figure prominently in the government of Spain nor that their weight was not felt in the main issues of government and society, but rather that a majority of the leading politicians during the reign of Isabel were not of aristocratic origin. They belonged rather to a newly created nobility never fully identified with the old. Seldom was a major post occupied by a commoner unless he had risen to prominence in the army, and, as already indicated, many higher-ranking officers in the army were of aristocratic blood. Among the parties which coalesced to overthrow Isabel in 1868, many of the leaders were titled. There were numerous title-holders among the progressive and liberal groups, but the old nobility was solidly conservative or reactionary. As with the military,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 453, 500; Ballesteros, VIII, 686-87.

ambition and pride made opportunists of many aristocratic politicians, and party affiliation and allegiance were as often conditioned by such individualistic motives as by political conviction. Few aristocrats were liberals; a large minority were Carlists; an active minority were adherents of the conservative, clerical monarchy. But within each group the fluctuations of political affiliation were manifold, and often members of one group left it to join another. The support of members of the aristocracy was welcomed by Madrid's political leaders, for their influence was greater than their lack of political authority would seem to justify, a fact due in large part to the highly developed Spanish sense of tradition.

The nobility merged in political and economic interest with the small but influential upper bourgeoisie. The "new plutocracy" had emerged largely during the reign of Isabel II, men of the type of José Salamanca, the banker and owner of the salt monopoly, and Antonio Lopez, king of Spain's merchant marine and close friend of the royal family. Often rewarded with titles for their support of the monarchy but unambitious politically, this group remained apart from formal partisan alliances, overshadowed in that realm by the military and career politicians. This was true of what there was of a Spanish middle class in general. Its restricted size and amorphous state, in a country where class distinctions were strong and a bourgeois tradition almost lacking, deprived it of much political importance. The *mépris* of noble, soldier, and peasant for the petty bourgeois was slow to change. The middle class was still too small to hasten its own emancipation appreciably, and too heterogeneous to have any unity of purpose. Industrial growth and commercial development were slow, hindered by the comparative poverty of the nation and the high incidence of political instability. Spanish capitalists, except the Catalans, were reputed to be unduly cautious. Most initiative, especially in the building of railroads, came from outside, particularly from England. Political consciousness was increasing more rapidly in the professional class than within the bourgeoisie, and it was from the former that a new leadership was rising to challenge the incompetence and anachronism of the existing regime.

Vastly more numerous was the mass of the peasantry and the steadily increasing working class.¹¹ The peasantry composed the great majority of

¹¹ The following enlightening figures on occupational groups in Spain are compiled from the census of 1860 (see note 5 above):

Rural classes	
Farm tenants	510,400
Farm owners	1,466,000
Farm laborers	2,354,000

the Spanish nation. Only slowly was the gradual and halting growth of manufacturing and extractive industries, particularly in Catalonia and on the north coast, drawing the farmer to the town.¹² Spain in 1868 was more than a century behind England in urban development, and generations behind France. She was still a peasant country and the peasantry was only one level above that of western Europe of the previous century. Feudalism was gone, but the effects of it remained to a degree that startled the foreign observer. Under the economic domination of the landholder and the spiritual authority of the church, the peasantry was politically apathetic and socially ignorant. Only a strong shock of the nature of a crisis, with issues clearly apparent which roused their emotions or touched their primary interests, could transform them temporarily into a political instrument of enough dynamism to serve an effective purpose. Such episodes were the Carlist wars of the early years of Isabel's reign and in 1872-1876, the first surge of sanguine revolutionary fever after the overthrow of the queen in 1868, and the cantonal insurrections of the same period. Apart from such episodes, Spain's peasants were silent spectators of the nation's political gyrations and an element that counted only occasionally in the calculation of rulers or revolutionaries. They were a reserve for emergency use only. Their accustomed subservience to priest and landlord left them without initiative. Leaderless and totally individualist, their discontent was a latent weapon dangerous to use and seldom called to service.

Working classes	
Railway employees	5,000
Miners	23,300
Factory workers	154,100
Laborers	333,200
Artisans	664,700
Domestics	818,100
Professional classes	
Miscellaneous	9,900
Lawyers, scribes, notaries	19,500
Doctors, druggists, veterinarians	26,000
Teachers and professors	27,000
Manufacturers	13,400
Merchants and shopkeepers	71,400
State employees	73,000
Ecclesiastics (including monastic orders)	82,500

¹² Spain's population in 1860 was 15,673,536, of which only 1,851,232 lived in the 49 towns and cities of over 5,000. Madrid, the largest city, had 298,426 inhabitants, while the three next largest were considerably smaller: Barcelona 189,948, Seville 118,298, Valencia 107,703. Only six others had more than 50,000. The remainder were grouped as follows (census of 1860, cited above):

40,000 to 50,000—	2
30,000 to 40,000—	3
20,000 to 30,000—	8
10,000 to 20,000—	19
5,000 to 10,000—	7

With the workers it was not the same. As in all western Europe, political articulation within the working class was becoming highly developed. The labor union movement, of no importance in the first half of the century, became in spite of small numbers a factor of significance during the 1860's, partly because of its ardent support of republicanism. In the larger cities of Spain the working class offered the most active competition to the military politicians. The two, whether allied or antagonistic, were the most vocal and most active single groups in the nation. The laboring class counted for much more after the revolution of 1868 than before. But during the later years of Isabel's reign they were the new element of political significance, of high nuisance value because of their cohesion, their political consciousness, and their propensity for direct action. Because of the largely static character of Spain's social evolution, the limited numbers of the workers, and their recent emergence as a distinct entity in the social picture, they must be considered a power far less effective than the army, church, and aristocracy. But as a force disruptive of the established order, particularly in the light of growing socialist and anarchist agitation within their ranks, the workers patently overbalanced the peasantry and became of immediate political moment during the disintegration and confusion of the postrevolutionary period, especially after the establishment of the republic in 1873.¹³

Although there was no effective socialist organization in Spain prior to the revolution of 1868, indoctrination had begun a generation before. The theories of Cabet, Fourier, Blanc, and Lasalle were well distributed before 1850 among the intellectuals and had begun seeping downward. The propagandist work of early socialists in Cadiz, Madrid, and Barcelona bears direct relation to the growth of the workers' movement in those focal centers. Pi y Margall, one of Spain's outstanding intellects, had helped to publicize the doctrines of socialism. He and the Catalan Suñer y Capdevila were among the proto-directors or officialdom of an incipient socialist movement that took on body only after the International was established in Spain in 1869.¹⁴ The workers were in the main still associated politically with progressive or republican parties, but the ebullience of socialist phraseology in the streets following the establishment of the provisional government attests to the effectiveness of the preparatory work accomplished by a handful of Spanish

¹³ For introductory surveys of the early history of the labor movement see Ballesteros, VIII, 207 ff.; Lafuente y Valera, XXIV, 5 ff.

¹⁴ Very competent studies of the beginnings of the International in Spain are those of Max Nettlau, "Zur Geschichte der spanischen Internationale und Landesföderation (1868-1889)," *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, XIV (1929), Part I, 1-66, and "Bakunin und die Internationale in Spanien 1868-1873," *ibid.*, IV (1914), 243-303.

zealots working in close collaboration with both the International and Bakunin.¹⁵

Republicanism had inevitably seen a much more extensive development during the reign of Isabel than had socialism. Not forgotten was the radical complexion of the Cadiz constitution of 1812, which had won the admiration of liberals throughout Europe and had set afoot a movement which had steadily grown despite the despotism of Ferdinand VII and the hopes betrayed by the constitutional monarchy in the Isabelist period. Republican sentiment was so widespread in the 1860's that Europe's monarchs feared the excesses of the queen's government might throw the country into republicanism.¹⁶ The parallel danger in Italy was giving them great concern over the two unstable Latin countries, and there was always France to reckon with should the Second Empire not survive its problems. International republicanism was active in Spain, whose great republican figure, Castelar, was, like Rivero, Pi y Margall, and Figueras, in touch with Mazzini, Garibaldi, Favre, and others.¹⁷ The Spanish republicans were well organized; they had been at it actively since 1854 and had instigated several uprisings, the most serious in Andalusia in 1861. They were in a sense the only real "party," from the standpoint of being independent of the army and of having a decisive policy and a notable energy and initiative. "It must be borne in mind that there are no moderate republicans in Spain."¹⁸ Their strength was such that the government took severe measures to stamp them out, imprisoning or exiling hundreds throughout the decade. Liberal monarchists plotting against Isabel felt obliged eventually to include them in their plans. It was the republican conviction in 1868 that the contemplated revolution should be no mere military pronunciamiento and that half measures must be replaced by a

¹⁵ The British embassy reported in July, 1871, that the International in Spain had at that time reached about 300,000 members, organized in 185 sections. Their importance was estimated to be less than "in other countries where they have rooted. . . . [The movement] is considered as entirely foreign, introduced by French and English agents." Ffrench (chargé at Madrid) to Granville, July 8, 1871, F.O. 72/1275, no. 22. Vera y Gonzalez, I, 511 ff., 547-72, 831 ff., 908-16, has a detailed account of the federalist doctrines of Pi y Margall and of his introduction of Proudhon into Spain. More general information on socialism during this period is to be found in Ballesteros, VIII, 207 ff., 695-98; Joseph A. Brandt, *Toward the New Spain* (Chicago, 1933), pp. 155-57; Bernhardt, IX, 58.

¹⁶ Karl T. Zingeler, *Karl Anton, Fürst von Hohenzollern* (Stuttgart, 1911), pp. 234, 242; Wilhelm Lauser, *Geschichte Spaniens von dem Sturz Isabellas bis zur Thronbesteigung Alfonsos* (Leipzig, 1877), I, 29. Lauser's account of the revolution, its preparation, and its development is the most objective and the most analytical of the contemporary works on the subject.

¹⁷ Ample evidence of the connection of Spanish republicans with those abroad is found in Richard Fester, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hohenzollern Thronkandidatur in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 80-81; D. Ildefonso Antonio Bermejo, *Historia de la Interinidad y Guerra civil de España desde 1868* (Madrid, 1875-77), I, 822; Herman Oncken, *Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III von 1863 bis 1870 und der Ursprung des Krieges von 1870-71* (Berlin, 1926), III, 270; Brandt, 112-13; Layard to Granville, June 18, 1872, F.O. 72/1311, no. 208.

¹⁸ Layard to Granville, May 27, 1871, F.O. 72/1275, no. 141.

complete liberal program. This helped to make the revolution much broader and more radical, as much popular and civilian as military, and liberal as well as dynastic.¹⁹ A republican weakness lay, as with so many Spanish parties, in their extreme individualism and the consequent difficulty of maintaining a cohesive group with a minimal program. The tendency to split into factions was constant, particularly because of the dispute over unitary and federalist principles. However, the republican threat was a major consideration in Spain's political life and one of the most significant of the mid-century developments.²⁰

The Carlists deserve attention here because they rank next to the republicans as the most explosive of Spain's political minorities. Their name derives from Don Carlos, the pretender who disputed the right of his brother Ferdinand VII to violate the Salic law in placing his daughter Isabel on the Spanish throne upon his death in 1833. Thereupon ensued a dynastic civil war that shed much blood for seven years and left the Carlists defeated but constituting a party fanatically and intransigently devoted to their cause. The cause was, or came to be, more than a claim to the throne. Carlism represented what was most legitimist, most ultramontane, most traditionalist in Spanish thought.²¹ It was a curious blend of mysticism, bigotry, and the cult of medievalism. Its emotional force was a striking phenomenon and an incalculable factor amid the other centrifugal and conflicting tendencies within the nation. Its persistence in the face of the demonstrable impossibility of success best synthesizes the neurotic quixotism of the movement.

The Carlists never renounced their hopes and retained a following throughout Spain in many segments of the population. Their strongest areas were in the northeast, in Navarre and the Basque country, and in Asturias to the northwest. The working body of Carlists was a select group of nobles and prelates, imposing in rank and dignity, and austere with tradition and social authority. This nucleus headed a movement composed of peasants, priests and nuns, nobles, seminarians, generals, burghers, and intellectuals. The worker element was notably absent, the clerical element notably strong, including support from the papacy.²² Some of Spain's most ancient noble

¹⁹ Lauser, I, 42-43.

²⁰ Layard to Granville, Mar. 10, 1873, F.O. 72/1337, no. 180; Lauser, I, 30 ff.; Vera y Gonzalez, I, 880-900; Bernhardt, IX, 50-51.

²¹ Nothing gives a clearer picture of the nature of Carlism than the very sympathetic history of the movement, including its place in twentieth century Spain, which was published under Falangist auspices at the close of the recent civil war: Roman Oyarzun, *Historia del Carlismo* (Bilbao, 1939).

²² Herries (Rome) to Derby, June 4, 1874 (enclosure in Derby to Layard, June 12, 1874, F.O. 185/556, no. 166); Layard to Granville, May 27, 1871, F.O. 72/1275, no. 141; Pirala, III, 527, 622-23; Bermejo, III, 8.

houses were Carlist, and some of her most powerful churchmen. The man power came largely from the peasantry of the border provinces. It was there that the bloodiest fighting took place in 1873-1875, and it was from nearby France that the pretender and his aides directed their activities. This was the source of serious antagonism between the two governments, particularly as the Carlists' European connections gave to their activities an international character of some importance.²³ The Carlists were a continuing menace to stability within the country and a source of disaffection, prone as they were to opportunist collaboration with other malcontents, not excluding the republicans.²⁴ The queen and her ministers had always before them the triple threat: military pronunciamientos, republican insurrections, or revolution from the right.

Anathema to the crown as to the Carlists was the rising anticlerical sentiment with which the liberal materialism of the age had infected the kingdom of Her Most Catholic Majesty. The Inquisition had died with absolute monarchy, and the defenses of the church were inadequate to dispel the advance of secular thinking. The origins of Spanish anticlericalism can be traced to the efforts of the crown in the eighteenth century to bend the church to its authority and to profit by its wealth. Far more basic a cause, however, was the position of the Spanish church as the obscurantist enemy of liberalism in any form. It earned for itself from the beginning of the century a reputation for blind opposition to all intellectual or social currents of a progressive nature, thus turning many believers toward skepticism or indifference and making itself an easy target for attack from both center and left. The persistent interference of the clerical party in national politics intensified a hatred for the church expressed in occasional violent riots. The most serious took place in 1822-1823 and 1834-1835, before the abolition of the greater part of the monastic orders.

Republicans and socialists were aggressive in their attacks on the church and its retrogressive influence. But the more serious anticlericalism, because it was more potentially effective, was that prevalent among the liberal royalists who were the largest party in the state. A substantial majority of the supporters of a constitutional monarchy were inclined toward at least partial separation of church and state, and a reduction of the authority of the church in education and in civil life. This is evidenced by the promptness with which

²³ Layard to Granville, Apr. 26, 1872, F.O. 72/1310, no. 125; same, May 24, 1873, F.O. 72/1339, no. 374; Pirala, III, 491-502, 552-53, VI, 600 ff.; Bermejo, I, 529, 608-609; Lafuente and Valera, XXIV, 653-54; Bernhardt, IX, 13, 43.

²⁴ Pirala, III, 176-79, 386-87, 493-95; Bermejo, I, 447-48; Vera y Gonzalez, I, 866-68, II, 16; H.R.H. Princess Ludwig Ferdinand, *Through Four Revolutions* (London, 1933), tr. by Emma Delaney, pp. 17-18.

the question was raised as soon as the revolution of 1868 was accomplished and a new order was to be established. There was at once a marked growth of secret anticlerical societies, Freemasonic and others, with a rationalist ideology resembling that in France during the revolution of 1789. Both physical and intellectual agitation underwent a pronounced acceleration.

As long as Isabel II remained on the throne her own fervent Catholicism and the predominance in her councils of the clerical party made any curtailment of Catholic prerogatives impossible. But her opponents well knew, as did the interested diplomats of Europe, that should she go, with her would go the church's hegemony in Spain and the support proffered to Pius IX during his tribulations in Italy. The anticlericalism of Isabel's opponents drew the attention of European statesmen, as the issue was pertinent to the major problems of the continent. For Spaniards of all strata it was a live question. The dissidence spread mildly even to the peasantry, where to some degree it was the problem which, after landholding, interested them most. The heart of anticlericalism, however, was in the cities, where it was part of the pattern of dissatisfaction with the status quo and accompanied the rising demand for political and social change.²⁵

This demand was becoming universal and was voiced as often in the national legislature as outside. The constitution of 1837 had been granted under duress during the Carlist insurrection to stem a liberal revolt by the government's only supporters. It had given the Cortes a more extended popular base and an increase of authority. The constitution was revised illiberally in 1845, the crown retaining the veto power and successfully skirting any efforts to establish full responsibility of the ministry to the Cortes. This left that body no alternative except vocal remonstrance and an appeal to the country. By 1866 every session of the legislature was the occasion for attacks on the government and the opposition was growing dangerously larger and more cosmopolitan.

Had the queen's critics been united they might have been able to force her hand. Unity, however, was the quality most lacking within the parties. Fractional groups enlivened the Cortes with their tempestuous discord and their shifting of alignments. Nothing in western Europe could compare with the personalism of Spanish politics, and nothing made more difficult the operation of constitutional government.²⁶ Political parties were rather coteries

²⁵ Lauser, I, 106-10; Bermejo, I, 673 ff.; Layard to Granville, Nov. 24, 1873, F.O. 72/1343, no. 559.

²⁶ After observing several years of Spanish politics, the British ambassador observed that "the whole parliamentary system in Spain seems hopeless of successful operation." Layard to Granville, Apr. 22, 1871, F.O. 72/1274, no. 100.

around this man or that, all obliged to buy the army to entertain any hope of success. The clash between party leaders often arose from personal rivalry and inordinate egotism rather than from questions of policy. Party discipline was almost unknown and party allegiance always precarious. Relations between the queen and her ministers, and between the ministers and the Cortes, were subject to the same irresponsibility—there were no less than 519 cabinet shifts during the twenty-five years of Isabel's rule.²⁷ The Spanish character appeared to lack the sense of compromise essential to the functioning of their limited constitutional monarchy. Concession symbolized defeat, defeat was incompatible with pride, and pride demanded resistance *à outrance*. It would have required a statecraft superior to that of Isabel II to head successfully a country where logic was subordinate to temper, collaboration to separatism, principle to self-interest. Conspiracy and insurrection had become chronic; to contemplate overturn of the government was a frequent alternative to winning an election.

The constant tension was magnified and the inevitability of a crisis made more apparent by the effect on Spanish thinking of the contemporary evolution of Europe. Reference has already been made to the influx of liberalism, industrial capitalism, and the correlative forces which were reshaping the continent. By the decade of the 1860's Spain was absorbingly attentive to the widespread evidences of change. The Italian nation under the liberal Savoyard monarchy came to birth at the expense of the papacy's temporal authority and the dynastic empire of the Habsburgs. Prussia was rising under the guidance of a chancellor who knew how to pay opportunist lip service to liberalism. In Austria-Hungary there was a practical effort to solve the double problem of nationalism and the antipathy to absolutism. Neighboring France was echoing with a rising opposition to the indecisive Caesarism of Napoleon III, whose sick glamour had been sullied by the "French defeat" at Sadowa. The explosive eloquence of *les Cinq* had as much appeal in Madrid as in Paris. England was at work again on reform bills destined to make a democracy out of a constitutional monarchy, and English liberties were in sharp contrast with the arbitrariness of Spain's government. Spanish moderates and liberals chose as the model for their political goal the English parliamentary system, combined with the French revolutionary concepts of popular sovereignty, in tune with the transformations occurring about them in western and central Europe. England particularly was their shibboleth.²⁸ However, it

²⁷ Fester, p. 62.

²⁸ Moret, Spanish representative in London, once enlarged on this theme to Granville, in a bid for sympathy from the British government. Granville to Layard, Feb. 19, 1873, F.O. 185/540, no. 32. See also Lafuente and Valera, XXIII, 307-308; Ballesteros, VIII, 60-61.

is doubtful if more than a handful understood what incongruities were attendant upon the adoption of an Anglo-Saxon system in a country whose history was so contrasting. Conscious or not of the feasibility of their projects, their determination grew to put an end to the intolerable rule of the queen. In this, if in no other regard, they found unity. They had, moreover, the support of the republicans and the aid of several score of disgruntled politicians and generals whose ambitions were frustrated by Isabel and her hangers-on.

Those who had known Isabel II intimately agreed with the popular phrase that she was very much a queen and very much a Spaniard.²⁹ The matter was complicated by the notorious fact that she was also very much a woman. An *affaire* with Marshal Serrano when she was fourteen is the first instance on record—that with Carlos Marfori, a young Italian adventurer in the royal guard, was perhaps the latest—of a licentiousness that shocked her subjects and contributed to her unpopularity.³⁰ Her judgment and political acumen, faulty at best, were further distorted by the influence of her entourage, a woeful polyglot of clerics, adventurers, sycophants, and palace aristocrats. On numerous occasions her ministers were infuriated by the interference in affairs of state of these incompetents and bigots through their domination of the queen. Their presence at the court served progressively to undermine the prestige of the crown and to add to the number of the queen's enemies. Disaffection arose also from Isabel's capricious favoritism and her stubbornly personal conception of her office and prerogatives. The training she had received from her mother, the Neapolitan Maria Christina, when combined with ignorance and the confusion of personal inclination with the larger interests of the state, resulted in her arbitrary use of the royal power in the worst ways. Her political inconstancy and dalliance with the liberal opposition alienated persons who might otherwise have temporized with her reactionary attitude. They joined in disaffection the outraged ex-favorite, the ex-minister who had offended her sensibilities, or the rankled politician whose ambitions met the obstacle of the queen's personal veto.

These were irritations; though serious, they were less important in themselves than as aggravations of the more basic conflict, that between an irresponsible crown and the final determination of Spain's major leaders to establish a truly liberal constitutional monarchy. The conflict was not new.

²⁹ Princess Ludwig Ferdinand, p. xxvii, cites the British historian Martin Hume, who spent much time in Isabelist Spain.

³⁰ Bernhardt, VIII, 317-18. For her relations with the American General Daniel Sickles, see Edgcumb Pinchon, *Dan Sickles, Hero of Gettysburg and "Yankee King of Spain"* (Garden City, N.Y., 1945).

It had begun while Joseph Bonaparte was king of Spain, had continued sporadically under Ferdinand VII, and had simmered for twenty years while Isabel was tried and tested. It was now coming to a boil. The constitution of 1837 and Isabel's personal, papalist rule were no longer acceptable. They might have endured longer had they been accompanied by strength and efficiency, but the government was characterized at the last by neither. Narvaez and O'Donnell were the two strongest personalities to remain on good terms with Isabel II after the liberal Espartero had retired in disgust from political life in 1856. Between them they supplied the throne with enough vigor and statecraft, ruthlessly administered, to prevail against the growing turbulence. But O'Donnell died in 1867 and Narvaez in April, 1868. The queen then leaned mainly on Gonzalez Bravo, a weaker man lacking the vigor or the insight to face or crush the opposition.

Disaffection grew, especially in the army and navy, where it could prove most fatal. The increasingly repressive measures of the government since 1866 combined with a harsh tax policy to produce a currency crisis and serious uneasiness in industry and commerce. Declining production, rising prices, and growing unemployment reached wide proportions by 1868, further discrediting the regime.³¹ Two attempted coups in 1866 inspired by Prim didn't come off because of poor cohesion among the revolutionaries, bad timing, and a tip-off to the authorities. Prim and the other leaders were exiled, but they immediately began planning for another try. An abortive Progressist rising in Gerona in 1867 failed to gain popular support. The leaders had realized their errors and set out now to secure a broader alliance among the political parties and an assurance of adequate military support.

Their negotiations resulted in the formation of a bloc including the Liberal Union, the Progressists, and the Democrats, hence inclusive of all the major parties except the rightist Moderates, who had come at the last to enjoy the exclusive support of the crown. The perpetual shifting and splitting of political groups makes any thorough analysis of Spanish political parties discouragingly confusing and irrelevant to this study; but it is pertinent to portray in brief the coalition which accomplished the revolution.

The Liberal Union, the most conservative element in the bloc, broke with the queen only after O'Donnell's death in November, 1867. It was led by Marshal Serrano, Admiral Topete, and Sagasta. The former two had a large following in their respective arms. The navy had for long been rife with liberal and antidynastic opinion, in part because the standards of pay and rate of promotion were inferior to those of the army.³² Serrano, one of Spain's

³¹ Lauser, I, 29; Lafuente and Valera, XXIII, 304-305.

³² Lauser, I, 32-33.

most distinguished though not most able figures, had been forced into exile in 1868 after successive attempts to dissuade the queen from an ultramontane and blindly arbitrary policy. His party urged a conservative constitution that would guarantee the formal civil and political liberties of a decorous modern regime, but would leave the major controls of the state in the hands of the aristocratic and possessing classes. They were only mildly anticlerical, but very hostile to the clique surrounding Isabel. Only in final desperation, fed by chagrin and frustrated ambition, did they join with the Progressists, their liveliest opponents, against the queen.³³

The Progressists included Olozaga and Zorilla, but it was in Marshal Prim that the party achieved ascendancy after the revolution, as it was Prim who was the most active agent in fomenting it. His importance lay in his great popularity within the army and the prestige throughout the country and abroad which military successes and an interesting political career had earned him. He possessed an astute mind and political acumen, was an able if enigmatic diplomat, and appeared to know well how to interpret and exploit the involutions of the Spanish character. Though not a great orator in the florid, Iberian tradition of which Castelar was an eminent example, his ability on the rostrum was of a caliber to enhance his agility in political manipulation.³⁴ Prim and the Progressists were the core of the liberal monarchists, inspired by the British example. They were admirers of Cavour and the House of Savoy, with whose difficulties vis-à-vis the papacy their anticlerical conviction gave them added sympathy. They had abstained from voting in the last Cortes elections in 1866, demanding a change of government along fundamental lines. Their decision was made that nothing could be accomplished with Isabel on the throne because of her stubborn insistence on excluding them from the government. The fate of the Bourbons was thus made certain, as the Progressists formed the historic base of the antidynastic opposition and were par excellence the party of the revolution.³⁵

The third important member of the conspiratorial coalition was the Democrats, headed by Martos and Nicolas Rivero. Less numerous but more radical than the Progressists, from whom they had split in 1850, the Democrats hovered on the edge of republicanism, which they were persuaded had

³³ Bermejo, I, 475; Ballesteros, VIII, 19.

³⁴ There is no adequate life of Prim. The best available is that of Henri Léonardon, *Prim* (Paris, 1901). Readable but superficial is the popular work of Emeterio Santiago Santovenia, *Prim, el caudillo estadística* (Madrid, 1933), which relies for much of its information on an early and elaborate eulogy by Francisco José Orellana, *Historia del General Prim* (Barcelona, 1871-72). Both Orellana and the short life by Francisco Agramonte, *Prim, la novela de un gran liberal de antaño* (Madrid, 1931), devote very little space to Prim's career after 1868.

³⁵ Lafuente and Valera, XXIII, 298 ff.; Lauser, I, 1-2.

little chance of success in Spain. The Democrats were the first party to come to a full break with the crown. They attracted some republicans who despaired of their own extreme solution of the problem, and some Progressists before the latter determined to choose revolution as the only way out. With the republicans the Democrats maintained an intimate collaboration. They made efforts to bring the republican group, ignored at the time of the 1866 coups, into the plans of Prim and Serrano for the next attempt. The latter, however, were careful to make no commitments to republicanism, though they welcomed discreetly the aid which the Spanish republicans were able to secure from their connections with Mazzini and Garibaldi on the one hand and the French republicans on the other. Republican strength in the larger cities could assure the revolutionary junta a broader popular base and supplement the action of the military garrisons, which were factors of first importance. The monarchists nevertheless hoped to exclude the republicans as much as possible from the revolution, apprehensive as they were of the complexities that could arise from the motley character of the coalition and dubious about the possibility of checking republican energies, once they were released.³⁶

A first accord between the main groups had been reached at Ostend under Prim's leadership in August, 1866, leaving to a projected constituent Cortes the ultimate decision as to what form of government should replace the Bourbon monarchy. Negotiations in early 1868 completed the adherence of the Liberal Union. In mid-summer Italian radicals, through a committee set up at Pistoia under Prim's guidance, began shipping volunteers to Catalonia.³⁷ Prim's headquarters at Brussels was busy making final arrangements with the conspirators in Spain. In Paris, a republican center and full of Spanish exiles of all varieties, further plans were laid. Prim paid his customary visit to Vichy but left hurriedly for England at the end of the month. It was from there that the last moves were co-ordinated. Everyone in Europe—including the Spanish government—was aware of something in the air by the time Prim sailed for Cadiz, where on September 15 he met Serrano, Topete, Zorilla, and the other chiefs of the conspiracy.³⁸ The royal family had conveniently left Madrid to spend the summer on the north coast, leaving the

³⁶ The revolutionists armed large numbers of "volunteers of liberty," a measure the provisional government came to regret soon after the revolution, when they faced the difficulty of disarming the clamorous republican bands in Cadiz, Malaga, and Barcelona whose resistance nearly caused civil war. Vera y Gonzalez, I, 881-901; Lafuente and Valera, XXIV, 7-17.

³⁷ Bernhardt, I, 23-24; Émile Ollivier, *L'empire libéral* (Paris, 1895-1918), XI, 40.

³⁸ Early in July the government learned something of the conspiracy and shipped off a number of generals to the Canaries, as well as exiling the duke of Montpensier, who was implicated. Lauser, I, 31.

capital unwittingly within the easy grasp of the conspirators. Key army and naval officers were set to strike, and on September 18 the revolutionary proclamation was issued and the junta's troops called to action.³⁹

The revolt, however political its causes, was in form a military uprising and its success was determined on the battlefield. Novaliches, heading the Isabelist troops, met the insurgents coming up from the south at Alcolea, where one decisive defeat put an end to the government's hopes of quelling the rebellion. All over the country enthusiastic garrisons joined the movement. In every city juntas were formed with remarkable unity among the revolutionary factions, followed by immediate collapse of the royal authorities. The navy went over to the revolution instantaneously and with barely an exception. Within a few days the insurrection was over, except in a limited number of localities in the northeast where resistance continued until the end of September. By this time Isabel and her family had crossed over into France to receive the condolences of Napoleon III. If anything attests the unpopularity and weakness of her regime it is the celerity with which it evaporated and the elation which accompanied its passing. For a short while most Spaniards were united in celebration of the departure of the Bourbons and their detested hangers-on—Père Claret and Marfori rode in Isabel's carriage across the frontier.

The air was full of sanguine speculation on the promise of the future. Serrano, who headed the provisional government set up promptly at Madrid, was a pledge to the conservative element that the revolution would not go too far, as was Topete at the post of minister of the navy. Prim, after some hesitation, had agreed to take the post of war minister where his control of the army left no doubt of his position as arbiter and actual chief of the coalition.⁴⁰ His popularity on the street was much greater than that of Serrano, but he sacrificed nothing in sagaciously permitting the Liberal Union to head a government which he and his party could dominate from a judicious center position between the conservatives and the Democrat-republican left. The republicans, however, received no place in the ministry which was to rule the country until the convocation of the constituent Cortes, elections for which were shortly scheduled for February, 1869.

The leaders of the revolution had themselves been surprised by the speed and ease with which it had been accomplished. The more difficult task, as it proved, was to replace the fallen regime with one which could meet with sufficient approval to guarantee stability to the country and at the same

³⁹ Lafuente and Valera, XXIII, 300 ff.; Vera y Gonzalez, II, 870 ff.; Lauser, I, 16-33.

⁴⁰ Ballesteros, VIII, 148-49.

time fulfill the aspirations of those who had fomented the revolt. This was the crux of the problem whose solution was to take six years, cost the country disorder, economic calamity, and civil war, and incidentally to serve as the occasion for the Franco-Prussian war. The only accord between the groups that had joined to organize the revolt had been their mutual desire to end the arbitrary rule of the Bourbons and to drive from the throne a woman whose conduct and policies had alienated all of the nation save the church and a segment of the nobility. Beyond this there was no agreement, nothing but an open field for all contenders.

The planners had known this from the inception of the revolt and had turned their backs on the problem, both to assure the means of accomplishing their first goal and because some, at least, were fairly confident of being able to induce the nation to accept their solution. At the Ostend meeting it was agreed that the question of monarchy or republic and the selection of a successor to Isabel should be decided by the nation, which in accord with the principle of popular sovereignty should elect a constituent body to draw up a constitution for the state. Once Isabel was gone and the first elation had cooled, the struggle began and the usual divisive character of Spanish politics returned. The monarchists were determined to put a quick finish to any republican aspirations. It was apparent from the beginning that they were in a dominant position and that the robust but minority republican movement, divided within itself, stood no chance unless the *interinidad* should be hopelessly prolonged. The monarchist governing group, true to the loosely liberal principles of the revolution and sure of its own ascendancy, placed no formal restrictions on the political liberties of their opponents, republican or socialist. They did repress with vigor the crucial labor disturbances of November, 1868, in Andalusia, caused by the severe economic crisis but closely allied with republican agitation.⁴¹ They counted on an active propaganda, Spanish inertia and dislike of innovation, and the advantages of being in control of the machinery of government to avert any significant upsurge of republicanism until a satisfactory monarchical solution could be found. The danger, however, was always there, and their own assurance ebbed as months of indecision fed the republican cause, the strength of which came as an unpleasant surprise and a most unwelcome complication.⁴²

What the monarchists had not foreseen was the intensity of the divisions within their own ranks and the inevitable complications to arise from the

⁴¹ Léonardon, pp. 131-32; Lafuente and Valera, XXIV, 8-9; Bermejo, I, 916-17.

⁴² Mercier to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne, Dec. 31, 1869, in *O.D.*, XXVI, 138-41; Ballesteros, VIII, 149 ff.; Vera y Gonzalez, I, 881 ff.

interest of several European powers in the Spanish affair. Over the problem of an occupant for the throne there was not even an approach to unanimity. The clerical question, sidetracked at first, was to lead to an open break between the Liberal Unionists and the Progressists. Constitutional issues of varying importance produced unexpected conflicts and a disappointing return to the same factionalism which had dissipated the strength of the opposition under the fallen regime. The virulence of personal rivalry and clash of ambitions was perhaps greater than before, now that the road to power was no longer blocked by the petulant Isabel and there were new careers to be made under fresh and promising circumstances.

The most serious deadlock was that occasioned by the cardinal question of a candidate for the crown. The ticklish matter had caused trepidation on the very eve of the revolution, when at Cadiz Serrano's advocacy of the duke of Montpensier, to whom the Liberal Unionists were committed, had met with a firm veto from Prim. His aversion to the duke did not weaken his argument that the insurrectionary leaders were pledged to abstain for the moment from any efforts to fill the void they were about to create. The letter if not the spirit of that commitment was in a certain sense violated by Prim himself during the first days of the rising. His battle cry, "Down with the Bourbons!" became the popular slogan of the revolution, though contradicting the opinion of the moderates who in deposing Isabel had not excluded the idea of placing her son on the throne. Montpensier's wife was, after all, Isabel's sister and a Bourbon herself. Some had in mind a Portuguese prince, hoping thereby to achieve ultimately, if not immediately, the popular goal of union with Portugal. Among the Progressists and Democrats were some who preferred a member of the House of Savoy and had already made known their hopes in Italy and at home.

Within a few weeks after the revolution no less than twenty-seven names had been proposed in the press as candidates for the crown: the duke or duchess of Montpensier, the duke of Alençon, Espartero, the duke of Genoa, the duke of Aosta, the prince of Carignan, ex-king Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, King Louis of Portugal, Isabel's son Alfonso, Leopold of Hohenzollern, Don Carlos, and miscellaneous English, German, and Austrian princes.⁴³ Most of the proposals were not serious and the field soon narrowed to a few in whose behalf there commenced a campaign, in and out of the government, that put to use every available political weapon. The clash of intrigue, oratory, and rumor intensified as months went by and the difficulties of finding an incumbent multiplied.

⁴³ Fester, p. 90.

Several factors of varying importance entered into the choice of a ruler. Hatred of the Bourbons was such that no member of the family could be considered without a battle. Only much later did the idea of a restoration begin to gain ground and its advocates venture to face the animosity of the country. The leaders of the revolution were adamant, for neither personally nor on principle could they reverse their attitude, in spite of their subsequent desperation and the pressures of foreign influences. For this reason as for others as cogent, the much touted candidacy of the duke of Montpensier was highly unpopular. While excluding the Bourbons, the nation received with perceptible disdain the notion of a foreigner on the throne, unless it be someone whose ties with the peninsula were intimate and of long standing—a Braganza, perhaps. They were hypersensitive about any stranger whom they suspected of being forced on them from without. Paradoxically, though they would accept only with chilly indifference a foreign king, one of their own number was inconceivable. The Spaniard did not live who could command the allegiance of more than a fraction of the nation. Only the aged and revered Espartero, who had lived in political retirement for the last ten years, received serious attention when every other possibility seemed blocked. He was wiser than his proponents and resolutely scotched the idea.⁴⁴

Furthermore, proud Spaniards regarded their national crown as equaling if not exceeding in dignity any other in Europe. Its prestige required that the bearer be of royal blood. Even the anticlericals were agreed in addition that he must be a Catholic, thereby excluding members of the English house and a considerable number of German princes. He should also be of age, since it was feared that a regency would be an invitation to bitter contest for control of the government that would further divide the country and conceivably jeopardize the success of a new dynasty from its inception. Of major importance during the planning of the revolution had been the hope of many that some dynastic arrangement could effect a union with Portugal, an aspiration held in common by all Spaniards and a latent motive in the foreign policy of every Spanish government. Any crisis in Portuguese or Spanish affairs invariably reopened the question, and the vacancy of the Spanish throne appeared to the Iberian unionists a unique opportunity for realizing their program.

Hence the problem of choosing a king was a complex one, rendered doubly acute by the expectation of individuals and cliques of making their

⁴⁴ Pirala, III, 402-405; Vera y Gonzalez, II, 123-24; Ballesteros, VIII, 162; Lafuente and Valera, XXIV, 22; Richard Fester, *Briefe, Aktenstücke, und Registen zur Geschichte der Hohenzollernschen Thronkandidatur in Spanien* (Leipzig, 1913), I, 78-79; Mercier to Ollivier, May 17, 1870, in *O.D.*, XXVII, 292-93.

political fortunes by seating their candidate on the throne. The ultimate complexity arose from the concern of Europe with the Spanish question. No decision could be reached in Spain which did not directly or indirectly affect the interests of the various powers, especially as the revolution coincided with a highly dynamic period in the evolution of western and central Europe. It was Spain's misfortune that she could not be free to work out her internal problem. Instead, her domestic contention became continental in scope, the several aspects of her evolution each conditioned by its repercussions abroad. In particular the candidacy question assumed an international importance that led to frustration, fiasco, and war. For this the explanation was extraneous to the revolution per se; it lay in Spain's geographical position, her recent relations with the European powers, and the transformations in progress on the Continent.

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The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders

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THE document named in the title of this article purports to be a communication of the Constantinopolitan emperor (Alexius I, Comnenus, 1081–1118) to Robert, count of the Flemings (Robert I, called the Frisian, 1071–1093), “and to all the princes in the entire realm.” Written in Latin, it may be designated hereinafter as the *Epistula*.

Not only this document's derivation but also its purpose, and the time at which it was indited, still are open questions inviting further research. To become aware of this, one needs but to peruse Henri Pirenne's discussion of those questions, in his (often overlooked) eleven-page contribution to the subject, published in 1907;¹ and, then, to survey the various opinions which other historical scholars have expressed about our document, during the last forty-odd years.² This essay, after presenting the essential data relative to the transmission of the *Epistula*, with a translation of its text (I), reviews critically the course which interpretation of the piece has taken since 1879³ (II, III); it then adduces evidence in support of what the writer judges to be the correct view as to the *Epistula*'s date and function (IV); finally, it sets forth some tentative conclusions with respect to the origination of the document (V).

¹ Henri Pirenne, “A propos de la lettre d'Alexis Comnène à Robert le Frison, comte de Flandre,” *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, L (1907), 217–27. (Hereinafter this article will be cited simply by its author's name.)

² For examples of opinions set forth since the appearance of Pirenne's article, see the following works: A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (Madison, 1929), 26–28 and the references to Caro, Leib, Bréhier, Iorga, and Dölger, cited *ibid.*, nn. 34, 35, 36, 38; Georgina Buckler, *Anna Comnena: A Study* (London, 1929), p. 457, n. 1; René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, I (Paris, 1934), 1–2; Charles Verlinden, *Robert I^{er} le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Paris, 1935), pp. 160–64; Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte hrsg. v. E. Seeberg et al., VI; Stuttgart, 1935), p. 365, n. 7; Ch. Diehl et al., *L'Europe orientale de 1081 à 1453 (Histoire du Moyen Age*, IX, Pt. I, in the *Histoire générale* founded by G. Glotz; Paris, 1945), p. 16.

³ For the older literature, see Count Paul E. D. Riant, ed., *Alexii I Comneni Romanorum imperatoris ad Robertum I Flandriae comitem epistola spuria* (Geneva, 1879) (hereinafter abbreviated *Riant Ep.*), pp. x–xii; Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed., *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae* (*Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*) (Innsbruck, 1901) (abbreviated *H Ep.*), pp. 22–24.

I

The two editions of the *Epistula* done respectively by Count Riant (1879)⁴ and Heinrich Hagenmeyer (1901)⁵ are still the best we have.⁶ Its text has come down to us in no less than thirty-nine manuscript copies, twenty-seven of which were made after 1200, and two as late as the seventeenth century. In thirty-six manuscripts the text is appended to Robert of Rheims's history of the First Crusade (*Historia Iherosolimitana*), either at the beginning or at the end. There are three manuscripts in which it appears as a separate piece and not as an appendage to another work. Two of the last-named manuscripts (α , π) and one of the others (B) have been ascribed to the early years of the twelfth century; they are apparently the oldest extant copies, and as such the only ones that need to be considered in an attempt to establish the date at which the *Epistula* came into existence. In fourteen manuscripts the document itself is prefaced with an *argumentum*, or explanatory statement, which the editors ascribe to a copyist rather than to the author of the *Epistula*.⁷ It should be noted, however, that while the *argumentum* is not found in any of the three manuscripts that present the *Epistula* separate from other works, it does appear in the oldest manuscript (B) of Robert of Rheims's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, which, as was indicated above, dates from the incipient twelfth century.

Since a complete English version of the *Epistula* seems to be lacking,⁸ it may serve a useful purpose to supply one. The rendering that follows⁹ is intended to be as literal as our idiom will generously allow.

Argument

This transcript of a letter was sent by the Constantinopolitan emperor, in the fourth year before the glorious Jerusalem expedition, to all Occidental churches, but especially to the Flemish count Robert. The said count, however, had by this time returned in staff and wallet from the Lord's Sepulcher, on which journey they had seen one another and had affable and friendly discourse. The said emperor, indeed, as he himself complains in this letter, had been exceedingly oppressed by an execrable pagan people whose ruler was the elder Soliman, father of the younger Soliman, whom our men afterwards, as that book¹⁰ mentions, defeated in martial

⁴ Cited in n. 3, above.

⁵ *H Ep.*, pp. 10-44 (introd.), 129-38 (text), 185-209 (notes).

⁶ Except as otherwise indicated in n. 7, below, the information contained in the remainder of this paragraph has been culled or deduced from *Riant Ep.*, pp. lxiv-lxvi, 3-5 and *H Ep.*, pp. 42-43, 129-30.

⁷ *Riant Ep.*, p. xlii; *H Ep.*, p. 185, n. 1.

⁸ Brief extracts have been translated into English by Sir Francis Palgrave (*The History of Normandy and England*, IV [London, 1864], 507-509) and by Vasiliev (II, 26).

⁹ My version was prepared on the basis of the Latin text in *H Ep.*; but the latter is virtually identical with the text in *Riant Ep.*, apart from variations in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and paragraphing.

¹⁰ In both *Riant Ep.* and *H Ep.*, the accepted reading at this point is "liber iste," a reading

conflict, forcing him basely to flee. Hence we marvel not a little why the oft-mentioned emperor has been always so venomous in spirit toward our men, and not feared to return evil for good.¹¹—The argument ends; the letter begins:

To Robert, lord and glorious count of the Flemings, and to all the princes in the entire realm,¹² lovers of the Christian faith, laymen as well as clerics, the Constantinopolitan emperor [extends] greeting and peace in our same Lord Jesus Christ and His Father and the Holy Spirit.

O most illustrious count and especial comforter of the Christian faith! I wish to make known to your prudence how the most sacred empire of the Greek Christians is being sorely distressed by the Patzinaks and the Turks, who daily ravage it and unintermittently seize [its territory]; and there is promiscuous slaughter and indescribable killing and derision of the Christians. But since the evil things they do are many and, as we have said, indescribable, we will mention but a few of the many, which nevertheless are horrible to hear and disturb even the air itself. For they circumcise the boys and youths of the Christians over the Christian baptismal fonts, and in contempt of Christ they pour the blood from the circumcision into the said baptismal fonts and compel them to void urine thereon; and thereafter they violently drag them around in the church, compelling them to blaspheme the name of the Holy Trinity and the belief therein. But those who refuse to do these things they punish in diverse ways and ultimately they kill them. Noble matrons and their daughters whom they have robbed [of their possessions] they, one after another like animals, defile in adultery. Some, indeed, in their corrupting shamelessly place virgins before the faces of their mothers and compel them to sing wicked and obscene songs, until they have finished their own wicked acts. Thus, we read, it was done also against God's people in antiquity, to whom the impious Babylonians, after making sport of them in diverse ways, said: "Sing us one of the

found in all the manuscripts except the oldest manuscript (B), which has "liber ille." Since the *Epistula* existed as a separate piece shortly after the beginning of the twelfth century when manuscripts α and π were prepared, it seems well to reckon with the twofold possibility that (1) the *argumentum* referred originally to a book to which the *Epistula* was not appended, and that (2) this book was not necessarily Robert of Rheims's *Historia Iherosolimitana*. For these reasons I have rendered the reading "liber ille."

¹¹ The Latin of this sentence runs as follows (*H Ep.*, p. 130): "*unde non parum miramur, cur saepedictus imperator tam uenenosum animum contra nostros semper habuerit et reddere mala* [see n. 80, below] *pro bonis non formidauerit.*" According to Hagenmeyer (*H Ep.*, p. 186, n. 13), it must be inferred from the words "semper habuerit" and "non formidauerit" that the *argumentum* was not written until after the death of Emperor Alexius in 1118. It seems to me that this view is untenable. The perfect tense of "habuerit" and "formidauerit" indicates that, in the opinion of the writer of the *argumentum*, Alexius up to the time these words were written had been always venomous in spirit, etc.; but it yields no clue as to whether Alexius was dead or alive at that time, for in either case the tense of the two verbs would be the same. Hagenmeyer believed his opinion in this matter was confirmed by the dates (1112-18) which Georg Marquardt (*Die Historia Hierosolymitana des Robertus Monachus*; Königsberg, 1892) had assigned to the composition of Robert of Rheims's *Historia*. Those dates, however, are now held to be several years too late; and, as we have seen, it is by no means certain that the *argumentum* referred originally to the work by Robert of Rheims (cf. n. 10, above). On the correct date of Robert's work (ca. 1106-1107), see Auguste Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, II (Paris, 1902), 282, No. 2118; A. C. Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and Its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. by Louis J. Pactow (New York, 1928), p. 74 and n. 42.

¹² According to Hagenmeyer (*H Ep.*, p. 190, n. 15), the word "regni" in the phrase "*omnibus totius regni principibus*" (*ibid.*, p. 130) must refer to Flanders—"welche Deutung sich von selbst ergibt." I am inclined to agree with Riant when he says that the terms in this phrase are "*si vagues qu'on se demande quel est ce regnum, la France ou l'empire germanique?*" (*Riant Ep.*, p. xv).

songs of Zion.”¹³ Likewise, at the dishonoring of their daughters, the mothers are in turn compelled to sing wicked songs, [though] their voices sound forth not a song but rather, we believe, a plaint, as it is written concerning the death of the Innocents: “A voice was heard in Ramah, Weeping and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children; and she would not be comforted, because they are not.”¹⁴ However, even if the mothers of the Innocents, who are figured by Rachel, could not be comforted for the death of their children, yet they could derive comfort from the salvation of their souls; but these [mothers] are in worse plight, for they cannot be comforted at all, because they perish in both body and soul. But what further? Let us come to matters of greater depravity. Men of every age and order—i.e., boys, adolescents, youths, old men, nobles, serfs, and, what is worse and more shameless, clergymen and monks, and, alas and alack, what from the beginning has never been said or heard, bishops!—they defile with the sin of sodomy and now they are also trumpeting abroad that one bishop has succumbed to this abominable sin. The holy places they desecrate and destroy in numberless ways, and they threaten them with worse treatment. And who does not lament over these things? Who has not compassion? Who is not horrified? Who does not pray? For almost the entire land from Jerusalem to Greece, and the whole of Greece with its upper regions, which are Cappadocia Minor, Cappadocia Major, Phrygia, Bithynia, Lesser Phrygia (i.e., the Troad), Pontus, Galatia, Lydia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia, and the principal islands Chios and Mytilene, and many other regions and islands which we cannot even enumerate, as far as Thrace, have already been invaded by them, and now almost nothing remains except Constantinople, which they are threatening to snatch away from us very soon, unless the aid of God and the faithful Latin Christians should reach us speedily. For even the Propontis, which is also called the Avidus¹⁵ and which flows out of the Pontus near Constantinople into the Great Sea,¹⁶ they have invaded with two hundred ships, which Greeks robbed by them had built; and they are launching them with their rowers, willy-nilly, and they are threatening, as we have said, speedily to capture Constantinople by land as well as by way of the Propontis. These few among the innumerable evil things which this most impious people is doing we have mentioned and written to you, count of the Flemings, lover of the Christian faith! The rest, indeed, let us omit, in order not to disgust the readers. Accordingly, for love of God and out of sympathy for all Christian Greeks, we beg that you lead hither to my aid and that of the Christian Greeks whatever faithful warriors of Christ you may be able to enlist in your land—those of major as well as those of minor and middle condition; and as they in the past year liberated Galicia and other kingdoms of the Westerners somewhat from the yoke of the pagans,¹⁷ so also may they now, for the salvation of their souls, endeavor to liberate the kingdom of the Greeks; since I, albeit I am emperor, can find no remedy or suitable counsel, but am always fleeing from the face of the Turks and the Patzinaks; and I remain in a particular city only until I perceive that their arrival is imminent. And I think it is better to be subjected to your Latins than to

¹³ Ps. 137: 3.

¹⁴ Matt. 2: 16–18; cf. Jer. 31: 15.

¹⁵ For comment on this name, see *H Ep.*, p. 197, n. 55.

¹⁶ “Mare Magnum” probably designates the Mediterranean in its entirety and not merely the Aegean Sea, since the latter could hardly be called great when compared with the Black Sea (“Pontus”). But cf. *H Ep.*, p. 198, n. 57.

¹⁷ The reference here may be to the expedition which the Burgundian duke Odo I, Borel, with his brothers Robert and Henry and his cousin Raymond, led to Spain in 1089. See Verlinden (n. 2, above), pp. 18–20.

the abominations of the pagans. Therefore, before Constantinople is captured by them, you most certainly ought to fight with all your strength so that you may joyfully receive in heaven a glorious and ineffable reward. For it is better that you should have Constantinople than the pagans, because in that [city] are the most precious relics of the Lord, to wit: the pillar to which he was bound; the lash with which he was scourged; the scarlet robe in which he was arrayed; the crown of thorns with which he was crowned; the reed he held in his hands, in place of a scepter; the garments of which he was despoiled before the cross; the larger part of the wood of the cross on which he was crucified; the nails with which he was affixed; the linen cloths found in the sepulcher after his resurrection; the twelve baskets of remnants from the five loaves and the two fishes; the entire head of St. John the Baptist with the hair and the beard; the relics or bodies of many of the Innocents, of certain prophets and apostles, of martyrs and, especially, of the protomartyr St. Stephen, and of confessors and virgins, these latter being of such great number that we have omitted writing about each of them individually.¹⁸ Yet, all the aforesaid the Christians rather than the pagans ought to possess; and it will be a great muniment for all Christians if they retain possession of all these, but it will be to their detriment and doom if they should lose them. However, if they should be unwilling to fight for the sake of these relics, and if their love of gold is greater, they will find more of it there than in all the world; for the treasure-vaults of the churches of Constantinople abound in silver, gold, gems and precious stones, and silken garments, i.e., vestments, which could suffice for all the churches in the world; but the inestimable treasure of the mother church, namely St. Sophia, i.e., the Wisdom of God, surpasses the treasures of all other churches and, without doubt, equals the treasures of the temple of Solomon. Again, what shall I say of the infinite treasures of the nobles, when no one can estimate the treasure of the common merchants? What is contained in the treasures of the former emperors? I say for certain that no tongue can tell it; because not only the treasure of the Constantinopolitan emperors is there contained, but the treasure of all the ancient Roman emperors has been brought thither and hidden in the palaces. What more shall I say? Certainly, what is exposed to men's eyes is as nothing compared with that which lies hidden. Hasten, therefore, with your entire people and fight with all your strength, lest such treasure fall into the hands of the Turks and the Patzinaks; because, while they are infinite, just now sixty thousand are daily expected, and I fear that by means of this treasure they gradually will seduce our covetous soldiers, as did formerly Julius Caesar who by reason of avarice invaded the kingdom of the Franks,¹⁹ and as Antichrist will do at the end of the world after he has captured the whole earth. Therefore, lest you should lose the kingdom of the Christians and, what is greater, the Lord's Sepulcher,²⁰ act while you still have time; and then you will have not doom, but a reward in heaven. Amen.

The letter ends.

¹⁸ For testimony relative to the presence in Constantinople of these various relics, see *H Ep.*, pp. 200–205, nn. 71a–87.

¹⁹ According to Hagenmeyer (*ibid.*, p. 208, n. 103), the reference to Julius Caesar's avarice is evidence of the author's familiarity with Suetonius' biography of Julius Caesar. Hagenmeyer failed to explain how a reader of Suetonius could have erred to the extent of making Caesar invade the kingdom of the Franks.

²⁰ Hagenmeyer insisted (*ibid.*, p. 209, n. 106) that the possible loss here visualized is not that of the Holy Sepulcher itself, but of the access thereto; and this view, it must be conceded, has logic in its favor, since the document speaks of Jerusalem as being in the possession of the "pagans."

Besides the text, as rendered above, we also have an early twelfth century epitome of the *Epistula*, supplied by Guibert of Nogent in his work on the First Crusade—the *Gesta Dei per Francos*.²¹ Guibert's epitome, it is true, includes two details which are not mentioned in the text.²² But this fact is of slight significance; it indicates merely that Guibert—or, possibly, the scribe who had made the particular copy of the text that came into Guibert's hands—felt free to add pertinent matter which he deemed likely to be impressive. Essentially, the epitome corresponds with the text, and there is no room for doubt that both represent one and the same document.²³

II

In the preface to his edition of it, Riant declared the *Epistula* to be an *excitatorium*, i.e., a popular piece designed to arouse the passions of the multitude.²⁴ The correctness of this characterization has been so generally admitted,²⁵ and seems so obvious, as to render discussion of the point superfluous.

Quite another matter is the question as to whether the original of the *Epistula* was drafted, either in Greek or in Latin, at the behest of the Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus. Riant deemed it inconceivable that a piece corresponding to our document in form and contents could have issued from the Byzantine chancellery. The *Epistula*, he insisted, was fabricated *de toutes pièces* by a Western monk or clerk, who had utilized for this purpose Flemish oral information about Byzantine affairs, a catalogue of the sacred relics preserved in Constantinople, reports of the maltreatment of Syrian Christians

²¹ Bk. I, chap. 5, *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux* (hereinafter abbreviated *RHC Occ.*), IV (Paris, 1879), 131–33. According to Molinier (II, 283, No. 2121), the sixth book of the *Gesta Dei per Francos* had come into existence by 1108. See also p. 824 and n. 66, below.

²² Namely, (1) that the Turks, after destroying Christianity in the lands they had conquered, converted the churches into enclosures (*catabula*) for their horses, mules, and other animals; and (2) that the Byzantine emperor, in his enumeration of the attractions which Constantinople offered the Latins, referred not only to its sacred relics and its treasure in silver, gold, etc., but also to the voluptuous charm of its very beautiful women. It may be noted, too, that, whereas the text only mentions relics of the apostles in a general way, Guibert's epitome refers to six bodies of apostles (for an explanation of this divergence, see *Riant Ep.*, p. xlv, n. 3 *ad fin.*).

²³ On this particular point the two editors of the document are fully agreed, however much they differ in various other matters (see *ibid.*, pp. xlv–xlvi; *H Ep.*, pp. 10–22). Hagenmeyer interprets Guibert's insertion in the letter of a reference to the charm of Greek femininity as perhaps ascribable to his perusal of the comment of Suetonius on Julius Caesar's fondness for women (cf. n. 19, above).

²⁴ *Riant Ep.*, pp. xliii, lxii–lxiii, *et passim*.

²⁵ Gaston Paris at first regarded the *Epistula* as a mere rhetorical exercise (review of *Riant Ep.*, in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, Treizième année, II [Nouvelle série, VIII] [1879], 379–88, esp. p. 386), but he later conceded that it had the character, and also had had the effect, of an *excitatorium* (review of an article by Hagenmeyer, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, V [1897], 254–56).

by the Turks, and sermons of Pope Urban II—but not any missive of Emperor Alexius, for there was no acceptable evidence that Alexius had ever appealed directly for Western aid.²⁶ Per contra, the Russian savant V. G. Vasilievsky maintained that our document constitutes a (very imperfect) translation, from the original Greek into Latin, of an *excitatorium* sent by Alexius to Robert the Frisian at a time (1091) when the emperor found himself in extreme need of military assistance.²⁷

Other opinions in the question of the authenticity of the *Epistula* have ranged between the polar views of Riant and Vasilievsky. Thus, Gaston Paris contended that, although the document patently is in the main a fabrication, yet the inditing of it was without doubt occasioned by Robert the Frisian's receipt of a letter from the basileus and its author probably had some acquaintance with that letter.²⁸ Hagenmeyer, after examining and evaluating all, or nearly all, the positions previously taken in this matter, arrived at a conclusion which is to a considerable extent in harmony with that of Vasilievsky. It may be stated, in brief, as follows: though the piece was freely composed in Flanders, it is based on an actual communication of the Byzantine emperor to the Flemish count and there is adequate reason to regard the core of its contents as genuine.²⁹ Somewhat similar was the conclusion of Ferdinand Chalandon, who found that the *Epistula*'s middle part, which enumerates the territorial losses sustained by Byzantium as a result of the invasions of the Turks and the Patzinaks, showed trace of an original letter addressed by Alexius to the count of Flanders.³⁰ Charles Kohler considered Riant's view the most defensible; yet, unlike Riant, Kohler conceded, if only as a possibility, that an authentic letter of Alexius to Robert the Frisian could have been one of the *Epistula*'s sources.³¹ To Henri Pirenne it seemed beyond doubt that this document derived from an authentic original: its author had borrowed from the original his description of the cruelty of the

²⁶ Riant *Ep.*, pp. xiv–xliii.

²⁷ Vasilievsky first expressed this view in an appendix to his article entitled, "Byzantium and the Patzinaks" (*Journal of the [Russian] Minister of Public Instruction*, CLXIV [1872], 325–28); and it was elaborated by him in a long critical review of Riant *Ep.* (in the same *Journal*, CCVII [1880], 223–61). Since Vasilievsky wrote in Russian, I know his articles only from references to them by other scholars. See esp. Riant, *Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades*, I–II (Paris, 1880) (reprinted in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I [1881]), 82 *ad init.*, 83 *ad init.*; also Vasiliev, II, 26–27; Pirenne, p. 218 and n. 7; *H Ep.*, pp. 24, 38; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081–1118)* (Paris, 1900), pp. 325 (and n. 3), 327, 328, 333 (and n. 2).

²⁸ See the two reviews by Gaston Paris cited in n. 25, above.

²⁹ *H Ep.*, pp. 10–42, esp. pp. 38–39. Hagenmeyer had reached approximately the same conclusion in his article, "Der Brief des Kaisers Alexios I Komnenos an den Grafen Robert I von Flandern," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VI (1897), 1–32.

³⁰ Chalandon, pp. 327–31, 334.

³¹ Ch. Kohler, review of *H Ep.*, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII (1900–1901), 566–67.

Turks and his nomenclature of the relics of Constantinople, and he had exaggerated the emperor's entreaties to the point of making them veritable supplications quite incompatible with the forms used by the Byzantine chancellery, because as writer of an *excitatorium* his sole aim was to produce an effect.³²

In postulating the receipt by Robert the Frisian of an authentic letter from the basileus, Gaston Paris, Hagenmeyer, Chalandon, and Pirenne all differed with Riant; yet they could not bring themselves to believe, with Vasilievsky, that the *Epistula* was a direct translation of the authentic letter, and still less that this letter had the character of an *excitatorium*. On one point, however, they fully agreed with Vasilievsky, namely, that the purpose of Alexius' communication was to press Robert the Frisian for fulfillment of a promise he had given when he visited with the emperor, on the return journey of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem—a promise to the effect that Robert would send to the emperor's aid a troop of five hundred Flemish knights. As the chief basis for this opinion, its defenders cite certain testimony presented by the princess Anna Comnena in her history of the reign of her father—the *Alexiad*. Anna has there recorded not only that the count of Flanders gave the said promise, and kept it, but also that her father in the meantime was hard beset by the invading Patzinaks and Turks.³³ It may therefore be supposed, according to Vasilievsky and his followers, that Alexius at this time (1088? 1090? 1091?) decided to remind Robert of his engagement, and did so in a very urgent missive, of which the *Epistula* is either a translation (Vasilievsky), or in some part an adaptation (Hagenmeyer, Chalandon, Pirenne), or at least a result (Gaston Paris).³⁴

In the writer's opinion, Riant has shown conclusively that the *Epistula* cannot be a Latin version of a communication dispatched by Emperor Alexius. The writer would so far agree with Vasilievsky, that there is one sentence in the *Alexiad* which may perhaps be interpreted as support for the

³² Pirenne, pp. 219, 226.

³³ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, vii. 6. 7, ed. by Bernard Leib, II (Paris, 1943), 105-10. Cf. English trans. of the *Alexiad*, by Elizabeth A. S. Dawes (London, 1928), pp. 179-82.

³⁴ Hagenmeyer and Chalandon dated Alexius' authentic letter in 1088 or 1089; Gaston Paris and Pirenne dated it in 1090; and Vasilievsky, in 1091 (see the references cited in nn. 25, 27, 29, 30, and 31, above; also Pirenne, pp. 219-25). Whereas Riant believed that Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage had taken place between 1083 and 1085 (*Riant Ep.*, p. xxviii and n. 3), Hagenmeyer assigned it to the period 1085-1087 (*H Ep.*, pp. 32-33, 37, 187-89 [n. 14]). Pirenne has proved (*loc. cit.*), by documentary and other evidence, that Robert did not depart from Flanders until the end of the spring of 1087 at the earliest; and that he returned home after October 31, 1089, though not later than the beginning of 1090. When Verlinden (*Robert I^{er} le Frison*, p. 21, n. 2, p. 151) dates Robert's departure from Flanders in 1086, after July 10, he seems to leave out of account the testimony of the *Genealogia comitum Flandriae Bertiniana* (cited by Pirenne, p. 221, n. 5), according to which Robert returned "*post duos [not tres] annos.*"

view that Alexius addressed a message to Robert the Frisian in 1091.³⁵ But the purpose of this message could not have been to press Robert for fulfillment of his promise to send the emperor five hundred Flemish knights; because these knights had already been received by Alexius the preceding year.³⁶

Without assuming that the *Epistula* necessarily depends on an authentic letter of the basileus, the present study will reckon with this possibility and even show it to be likely. The principal conclusions of the study would not be affected, however, by proof that our document is an outright forgery.

III

We turn next to the twofold question regarding the date at which the *Epistula* came into existence and the specific end it was intended to serve. In these matters opinions have varied even more than in the question of our document's authenticity. Before considering the most novel view, expressed as recently as 1935,³⁷ it may be well to sum up the four principal earlier opinions and to ascertain whether these necessarily must all be rejected. They were enounced respectively by Riant (1879, 1880), Gaston Paris (1879, 1897), Hagenmeyer (1897, 1901), and Charles Kohler (1901).

(1) Riant maintained that the *Epistula* had been fabricated at some time between June, 1098, and July, 1099, either in the crusader camp or else in France, its object being to speed the departure from Europe of laggard *cruce signati*, whose arrival in the theater of operations against the Moslems was always looked for, especially after casualties and the pursuit of individualistic aims by some of the leaders had greatly thinned the ranks of the crusader host.³⁸ (2) According to Gaston Paris, the *Epistula* was composed in 1090, and with a view to inducing French knights to go to the assistance of the Greek emperor.³⁹ (3) Hagenmeyer contended that the document was pre-

³⁵ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, viii. 3, ed. by Leib, II, 134: ". . . ὡς ἐνὸν διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπανταχόθεν ἔσπευδε μισθοφορικὸν μετακαλέσασθαι." In the translation of Elizabeth Dawes (p. 199), this sentence is rendered as follows: "Under these circumstances the Emperor did what he could by letters to collect a mercenary army from all sides." Riant, it is true, sought to show (*Inventaire*, p. 88 and nn. 38, 39) that by γραμμάτων Anna Comnena meant "*des lettres administratives, ordonnant de hâter, dans l'empire même, l'engagement de ces salariés sans patrie, qui ne demandaient qu'à offrir leurs services au plus fort enchérisseur.*" But I am not convinced that Riant's argument on this point is conclusive.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 88 and n. 41; also Chalandon, pp. 118, 125 *ad fin.*, 127 and n. 3. Relying on the antiquated chronology of Eduard von Murlt (*Essai de chronographie byzantine 1057-1453* [Basel, Geneva, and St. Petersburg, 1871], pp. 65-66), Pirenne mistakenly stated (p. 224) that "*Les chevaliers flamands arrivèrent à Constantinople entre le 10 février et le 20 avril 1091.*"

³⁷ See pp. 822-23, below. The view expressed by Diehl in 1945 (reference cited above, n. 2 *ad fin.*) is not essentially new.

³⁸ *Riant Ep.*, pp. li, lviii-lix, lxii-lxiii.

³⁹ Gaston Paris, review of *Riant Ep.*, *loc. cit.* (n. 25, above), pp. 385-86; *idem*, review of article by Hagenmeyer, *loc. cit.* (*ibid.*), p. 255.

pared in the year 1088 (soon after the receipt by Robert the Frisian of Alexius' authentic letter), at the instance of Alexius' envoys and the count of Flanders; and its purpose was to facilitate the count's recruiting of the five hundred knights he had promised he would send to the emperor.⁴⁰ (4) In the opinion of Kohler, the *Epistula* was an *excitatorium* to the First Crusade, composed at the time the crusade was being preached, before the departure of the crusaders. Directing attention to the fact that it invites the Occidentals to possess themselves of the relics conserved at Constantinople, Kohler suggested that this might well reflect Western covetousness of those relics and a desire to return them in triumph to the holy places in Palestine whence they had come—a restoration which would glorify the anticipated Christian recovery of Jerusalem. As for the invitation to the Latins to substitute at Byzantium their domination for that of the Greeks, Kohler thought this would not seem extravagant to men who were preparing to conquer for themselves several former Byzantine provinces and to lay hands on at least two of the Eastern patriarchates; nor was it impossible that, in certain quarters, such propaganda was conceived as a means of obliging Alexius to put an end to the ecclesiastical schism or at least as a notice that he must not place obstacles in the way of the crusade.⁴¹

Though each of these hypotheses, except the second—which, as its proponent himself acknowledged, does not differ greatly from the third⁴²—has found a number of adherents,⁴³ only the last of the four yet remains unfuted. Gaston Paris and, after him, Hagenmeyer have demonstrated conclusively that Riant's hypothesis cannot be sustained⁴⁴—for the principal reason that there is no reference in the *Epistula* to the victories of the crusaders up to June, 1098, an omission which is unthinkable in a piece intended to stir up enthusiasm for completing the crusade enterprise.⁴⁵ The hypothesis

⁴⁰ *H Ep.*, pp. 36–39.

⁴¹ Kohler, *loc. cit.* (n. 31, above), pp. 564–66. My presentation of Kohler's suggestions is, I believe, almost, if not quite, a verbatim translation of the French original.

⁴² Gaston Paris, review of article by Hagenmeyer, *loc. cit.* (n. 25, above), pp. 254–56.

⁴³ Among the scholars who have been disposed to accept Riant's hypothesis, mention may be made of Chalandon (p. 335) and Louis Bréhier (*L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge: les croisades* [5th ed.; Paris, 1928], pp. 57–58). The hypothesis of Hagenmeyer found favor with Reinhold Röhricht (*Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* [Innsbruck, 1901], p. 16 and nn. 1, 2) and, more recently, with Franz Dölger (*Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453* [Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit, Reihe A, Abteilung I], Pt. II [Munich and Berlin, 1925], 39, No. 1152) and others. Pirenne (p. 226) and, following him, Bernard Leib (*Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* [Paris, 1924], pp. 187–89) and Verlinden (pp. 163–64) have adopted Kohler's hypothesis. It should be noted that Pirenne, by an unfortunate slip of the pen (*loc. cit.*), ascribed this hypothesis to Gaston Paris instead of to Kohler. Gaston Paris said quite explicitly that "*elle* [the *Epistula*] *n'a, à mon sens, rien à faire avec la croisade*" (see the first reference cited in n. 25, above, p. 382).

⁴⁴ Gaston Paris, *ibid.*, pp. 382–83, 387; *H Ep.*, pp. 27–28.

⁴⁵ Chalandon (p. 335) overlooked this decisive consideration when he brushed aside the objections made to Riant's hypothesis.

of Hagenmeyer, after being rejected as erroneous by Chalandon,⁴⁶ Kohler,⁴⁷ and others, was thoroughly demolished by Pirenne, who showed not only that Hagenmeyer's dating of the *Epistula* in 1088 was impossible (since Robert the Frisian did not return home from his pilgrimage until November of 1089 at the earliest)⁴⁸ but also that the *Epistula* calls for an enlistment of Western warriors of all classes (instead of merely a levy of feudal troops), and that, in the eleventh century, no *excitatorium* was needed to persuade Flemish knights to volunteer for service in a distant country.⁴⁹ The last two points, it will be observed, invalidate the hypothesis of Gaston Paris as well as that of Hagenmeyer.

Kohler's hypothesis was endorsed by Pirenne⁵⁰ and it has apparently never been explicitly challenged. "Nothing [is] more natural," wrote Pirenne, "than to suppose . . . [the *Epistula*] to have been written a short time after the Council of Clermont, in 1095 or 1096, by a clerk of Flanders or of northern France who had had under his eyes the letter of Alexius to Robert the Frisian."⁵¹ In the judgment of the present writer, this hypothesis is no more sustainable than were its three predecessors. Kohler's suggestions with regard to the significance of the invitations which the *Epistula* extends to the Occidentals furnish only artificial support for his hypothesis, since they are, at any rate for the most part, utterly baseless. That Western covetousness of the sacred relics in Constantinople was existent even prior to the First Crusade need not be denied.⁵² But it does not follow from this postulate, nor, apparently, is there any evidence from which we may deduce, that the Occidentals desired to restore the said relics to their Palestinian places of provenience.⁵³ The information we have about the propaganda of the recruiting campaign which preceded the First Crusade⁵⁴ gives no hint that the *Epistula* was an instrument of this propaganda. Had it been, would it not have led many crusaders to imagine that, on their arrival at Constantinople, Alexius would deliver up the city to their leaders? But there is nothing to show that such a delusion obtained among the crusaders.⁵⁵ And neither is there any-

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-36.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*, n. 41, above.

⁴⁸ See n. 34, above.

⁴⁹ Pirenne, pp. 225-26.

⁵⁰ But see above, n. 43 *ad fin.*

⁵¹ Pirenne, p. 226.

⁵² Certainly, however, this covetousness must have greatly increased in intensity, and have become much more general, after many thousands of crusaders had viewed the relics with their own eyes, in the late summer of 1096 and in the winter and spring of 1097. Cf. *H Ep.*, p. 200, n. 71a.

⁵³ None was cited by Kohler, and I have been unable to find any.

⁵⁴ The best discussion of this propaganda that has come to my notice is in Hagenmeyer's *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 112-28.

⁵⁵ As far as I know, it has never been contended—nor does it seem at all likely—that the

thing which would indicate that the Latins threatened to take over the government of Byzantium in case the emperor persisted in maintaining the ecclesiastical schism or tried to check the progress of the crusade.

In addition to the four explanations of the *Epistula* proposed respectively by Riant, Gaston Paris, Hagenmeyer, and Kohler, each of which must evidently be considered false, there is a more recent explanation, which has apparently not hitherto elicited any printed comment. It was advanced by the late Carl Erdmann, in one of the notes appended to the last excursus at the end of his fundamental work on the genesis of the crusade idea (1935).⁵⁶ A paraphrase of the note in question is here subjoined.

I doubt not [says Erdmann] that the *Epistula* came into existence in 1105-1106, and was put into circulation as an *excitatorium* in aid of the propaganda then carried on by [Prince] Bohemond [I of Antioch] for a crusade against Byzantium. It manifestly from the first had a prefatory discourse similar to the transmitted *argumentum*, which draws attention to the [imputed] faithlessness of Emperor Alexius. In this way it is possible to account not only for the entire contents, the signaling of Constantinople's treasure of relics and the alleged willingness of the emperor to deliver up Constantinople to the Latins rather than to the pagans, but also for the omission of the Holy Lance from the list of the relics (a point emphasized by Riant) and for the concluding words, "lest you should lose . . . the Lord's Sepulcher," which (despite Hagenmeyer's opinion to the contrary) are incomprehensible before 1099 [but cf. n. 20, above]. In any case, knowledge of the *Epistula*—as possessed by Guibert of Nogent, Robert of Rheims, Hugh of Fleury, and others—is demonstrable only after 1105.

This view as to the date and the purpose of our document is certainly consonant with the fact that the three oldest of the extant manuscript copies (α, π, B) belong to the incipient twelfth century.⁵⁷ And exception to it on the ground that the text of the *Epistula* as such (apart from the prefatory *argumentum*) seems calculated to generate sympathy for Alexius rather than to breed animosity against him would not necessarily be valid, since the *Epistula*'s text, even when taken by itself, clearly is capable of construction

depredations made in Constantinople or its suburbs, by the followers of Peter the Hermit, were conceived to be a means of forcing Alexius to yield up his throne (see Hagenmeyer, ed., *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* [Heidelberg, 1890], pp. 113-14 and nn. 24, 25; L. Bréhier, ed., *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade* [Paris, 1924], pp. 6-7 and n. 5). The same may be said with reference to Duke Godfrey's hostilities with Alexius (Hagenmeyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 142-45 and notes; Bréhier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 16-17 and notes). Albert of Aix's allegation (*Historia Hierosolymitana*, Bk. II, chap. 14, *RHC Occ.*, IV, 309) that Bohemond had previously offered to ally himself with Godfrey for the purpose of conquering Constantinople has been shown to be false (see Hagenmeyer, *loc. cit.*, p. 157, n. 35; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. ersten Kreuzzuges*, p. 72, n. 7; Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* [Berlin, 1903], p. 60, n. 1). If the rank and file of the crusaders felt they were deceived by their chiefs when the latter finally agreed to the conditions insisted upon by Alexius (homage and fealty, etc.), this may hardly be interpreted as an indication of disappointment that the emperor was not compelled to abdicate (Hagenmeyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 170-71 and nn. 14, 17; Bréhier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-31 and n. 3).

⁵⁶ Erdmann, *loc. cit.*, above, n. 2.

⁵⁷ Cf. p. 812, above.

to the emperor's disadvantage. It would appear, then, that Erdmann's proposed solution to the problem of when and wherefore the *Epistula* was compiled, unlike the several solutions previously put forward, constitutes an admissible hypothesis.

The investigation on which this essay is based was undertaken with a view to testing a hypothesis identical with the one propounded by Erdmann, and the investigation was completed before the writer gained knowledge of the German scholar's contribution to the subject.⁵⁸ Erdmann, it is submitted, gave good grounds for regarding his explanation of the *Epistula* as probably correct, yet did not actually prove it to be the true one. In the next part of this essay an attempt is made to establish the new hypothesis on a foundation of positive evidence.

IV

The Latin expedition which Prince Bohemond of Antioch led against the basileus has been denominated, properly enough, the Crusade of 1107.⁵⁹ Shortly after his return to Europe, early in 1105, Bohemond was officially appointed by Pope Paschal II to conduct the proposed crusade. He was also authorized by the pontiff to carry on a recruiting campaign,⁶⁰ with the assistance of St. Bruno, absentee bishop of Segni.⁶¹ The campaign went forward, principally in France, from March through the spring and part of the

⁵⁸ To be exact, I should state that the above paraphrased note in Erdmann's book for some inexplicable reason escaped me until after this article was supposedly in finished form. I happened on that note in the course of subsequent research in a related subject.

⁵⁹ The best and most recent account of the Crusade of 1107 is that of Ralph B. Yewdale, in his *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), chaps. 7-8.

⁶⁰ *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* (an anonymous work written after 1105, but before 1109, and ascribed to a certain Bartolf, "peregrinus de Nangeio, Germanus" [*RHC Occ.*, III (Paris, 1866), preface, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii]), chap. 65, *ibid.*, p. 538. See also Yewdale, pp. 102, 106-108; A. C. Krey, "Urban's Crusade—Success or Failure," *American Historical Review*, LIII (1947-48), 246. Pope Paschal seems to have conferred upon Bohemond the dignity of an apostolic (lay) legate for the duration of the recruiting campaign in France (see W. Holtzmann, "Bohemund von Antiochien und Alexios I.," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, L [1933-35], 274-75).

⁶¹ *Historia peregrinorum euntium Iherosolymam ad liberandum sanctum sepulcrum de potestate ethnicorum, seu Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus* (an anonymous work written ca. 1140 [*RHC Occ.*, III, preface, pp. xiii-xiv]), chap. 140 *ad fin.*, *ibid.*, p. 228; Peter the Deacon's *Continuatio* to the *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, Bk. IV, chap. 31, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, VII (1846), 777 (the original of this *Continuatio*, as far as Bk. IV, chap. 87, appears to have been penned at some time within the period 1115-1126 by a Monte Cassino monk named Guido; see W. Smidt, "Guido von Monte Cassino und die 'Fortsetzung' der Chronik Leos durch Petrus Diaconus," in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann dargestellt* [Weimar, 1931], esp. pp. 315-16 [and n. 2], 320-21); Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, *Vita Ludovici grossi regis*, chap. 9, ed. H. Waquet ("Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge," pub. under the direction of L. Halphen; Paris, 1929), p. 48 (according to Waquet [*ibid.*, introd., pp. x-xi], the *Vita Ludovici* was written by Suger ca. 1144). Both Peter the Deacon (copying Guido) and Suger indicate that Bruno functioned as a papal legate. See also Bernhard Gigalski, *Bruno, Bischof von Segni, Abt von Monte-Cassino (1049-1123)* (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien hrsg. v. Dr. Knöpfler et al., III, iv; Münster i. W., 1898), pp. 57-69; *Enciclopedia italiana*, VII (1930), s. vv. "Bruno o Brunone di Segni."

summer of 1106.⁶² That the propaganda was bitterly hostile to Alexius goes without saying. Some idea of the accusations loaded upon him during the course of the campaign may be got from a recently published letter of Bohemond to Pope Paschal, indited apparently in September, 1106.⁶³ In this letter, the emperor and his people are charged, among other things, with having "robbed Jerusalem pilgrims of their possessions, killed them, denuded them, drowned them in the sea, driven them into exile."⁶⁴ Evidence suggesting that use was made of the *Epistula* in the said campaign is supplied by two contemporary writers—Abbot Guibert of Nogent, and the author of the *Epistula*'s preface or *argumentum*.

As already noted, there is an epitome of the *Epistula* in Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei per Francos*.⁶⁵ Directly after his presentation of this epitome, Guibert launches into an acrid invective against Alexius, which undoubtedly echoes some of the accusations made by the propagandists who toured France in the spring and the early summer of 1106; for the part of the *Gesta Dei per Francos* in which the epitome of the *Epistula* and the invective against Alexius appear—it is the final chapter of the first book—seems to have been written in the winter or the spring of 1108,⁶⁶ not more than two years after

⁶² See Yewdale, pp. 108–12 and the references there cited; also Krey, "A Neglected Passage," *loc. cit.* (above, n. 11 *ad fin.*), pp. 69–70.

⁶³ This is the date proposed by Holtzmann (*loc. cit.* [n. 60, above], p. 272). In the opinion of Carl Erdmann (p. 303, n. 68 *ad fin.*), the letter was not written until the summer of 1108, by which time Alexius had practically immobilized the crusading expedition led against him by Bohemond (cf. Yewdale, pp. 123 ff.). As I see it, the words "*transfretaretis et . . . ad nos usque accederetis*" do not necessarily imply, as Erdmann thought they did, that Bohemond had already crossed over from Apulia to Albania; nor is it necessary to infer from the phrase "*ad iusticiam inter nos et imperatorem tenendam*," that he had decided to submit his quarrel with Alexius to papal arbitration because his military situation had become bad. Bohemond explains that after his return from France he had wished personally to thank Pope Paschal for honoring him with an apostolic legateship but had been unable to find the pontiff either at Rome or in Apulia. It seems very unlikely that he would have written to this effect as late as two years after his return from France, especially since he had remained in Apulia for nearly fourteen months, from August, 1106 to October 9, 1107 (Yewdale, pp. 112, 114, 115). The "*concilio in proximo convocato*" may well be, as Holtzmann suggests, the council which Paschal had summoned to meet in upper Italy on October 15, 1106, rather than the Lateran synod of October, 1108, as Erdmann believed. Apparently, Bohemond wished to persuade the pontiff to promise he would cross over to Albania after the expedition had got off to a good start. The entire letter gives the impression not that its author at the time of writing feared the crusade would be unsuccessful but that he was looking forward confidently to what it might achieve. On these grounds, I subscribe to Holtzmann's dating of the letter in September, 1106.

⁶⁴ See Holtzmann's ed. of the letter, in a *Beilage* to his "Bohemund von Antiochien und Alexios I," *loc. cit.* (n. 60, above), p. 281.

⁶⁵ Cf. above, p. 816 and nn. 21–23.

⁶⁶ Guibert says (*loc. cit.*, pp. 133–34): "*Auditum tamen nobis constat ante huius viae compertum primordia, matrem hunc [sc. imperatorem] habuisse sortilegam quae sibi saepe praediceret quia ex Francis originem duceret, qui ei imperium vitamque adimeret. Cujus oraculum ipsis effectibus explere Boemundus affectat: qui tantopere illi insistit, ut saepenumero cum eodem configens vertere terga compulerit, et plurimam provinciarum ejus partem suae ditioni addiderit.*" It seems evident (1) that this passage was written after Guibert had received news of the military successes scored by Bohemond in the autumn of 1107; and (2) that the passage could not have been penned later than the summer of 1108, since by that time it had probably

Bohemond's recruiting campaign. Accordingly, we have here a strong indication that the *Epistula* was utilized in this campaign; indeed, we may suspect with good reason that the significance which Guibert attaches to our document in his invective is essentially the significance ascribed to it by the campaign propaganda.

Without question, Guibert believed implicitly that the *Epistula* was an authentic letter of Alexius to Robert the Frisian;⁶⁷ and his obvious purpose in epitomizing the piece was to make apparent that it shed very unfavorable light upon the emperor's character. He was convinced that Alexius—"sordidissimus ille tyrannus"—had himself to blame for the piteous predicament in which the *Epistula* represents him as being placed. By decreeing for his whole empire that one of several daughters in a family must become a prostitute, and one of several sons be made a eunuch,⁶⁸ he had cut off the possibility of raising an indigenous army adequate to the defense of Byzantium, and, hence, was justly obliged to seek foreign aid against its enemies. Furthermore, he was not a legitimate incumbent of the imperial office, having obtained it by usurpation and resort to violence⁶⁹ (a charge which appears, also, in the above mentioned letter of Bohemond to Pope Paschal).⁷⁰ Necessity had compelled him to beseech the Franks to come to his aid;

but when he beheld [in the First Crusade] the gathering of leaders of such great dignity, and of knights so well instructed in modesty [!] and in the use of arms, he envied much their multitude, but their prudence much more. However, when their endeavor touched its goal his great envy of the efficiency of our men increased; and after the victory at Jerusalem he feared lest they should turn against himself their conquering arms, especially since they had become aware that they had no competitor among the nations who was stronger than he.⁷¹

Guibert certainly indited this invective before he knew that the basileus had broken the crusade led against him by Bohemond; because he suggests, at the end, that Bohemond was perhaps destined (evidently as leader of the crusade) to bring to fulfillment a rumored prophecy to the effect that a "Frank" would eventually deprive Alexius of both his empire and his life⁷²—

become known in France that the tide of battle had begun to turn in favor of Alexius. News of the final outcome (in September, 1108) could hardly have reached northern France before the end of October at the earliest. For the military developments, see Yewdale, pp. 117-27. On the probable date at which Guibert wrote, cf. Krey, "A Neglected Passage," *loc. cit.*, pp. 73, 77; Georges Bourgin, ed., *Guibert de Nogent, Histoire de sa vie (1053-1124)* (Paris, 1907), introd., p. xxi.

⁶⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *loc. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶⁸ Neither of these points is controllable.

⁶⁹ Guibert of Nogent, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.

⁷⁰ Ed. Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 281.

⁷¹ Guibert of Nogent, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.

⁷² See the quotation in n. 66, above.

a statement which virtually confirms the suspicion that Guibert's epitome of the *Epistula* and his tirade against Alexius were written under the influence of the propaganda disseminated in France during the recruiting campaign of 1106.

Additional support for the view that the *Epistula* served the purpose of an *excitatorium* to the proposed crusade against the basileus is available, as was indicated above, in the *argumentum* with which our document is prefaced.⁷³ The *argumentum* may well have been in existence by 1106, since it appears, with the *Epistula*, in a manuscript (B) dating from the early years of the twelfth century.⁷⁴ Contrary to the opinion of Riant, there is nothing to indicate that its author was necessarily another individual than the author of the *Epistula*.⁷⁵ The a priori probability would seem to be that both pieces were indited by the same writer; because, if the *Epistula* was designed to be an instrument of propaganda, as it indubitably was,⁷⁶ its author would naturally preface the document with an explanatory statement rendering its intended significance unmistakable. Accordingly, since the *argumentum* is precisely such a statement, we may proceed on the assumption that it was written by the author of the *Epistula*.

As a propaganda piece the *argumentum* may hardly be expected to adhere strictly to the truth, and actually it is rather uneven in this respect. Its opening sentence states that Alexius had dispatched the *Epistula* in the fourth year before the First Crusade. This would be 1091, if the author considered the First Crusade to have begun with the Council of Clermont, as he perhaps did. In such case he has dated the *Epistula* in the year in which Vasilievsky believed Alexius had addressed his communication to Robert the Frisian.⁷⁷ The declaration that Alexius sent transcripts of this letter "to all Occidental churches" is surely false; but it probably indicates that numerous copies of the *Epistula* were put into circulation, with a view to promoting the recruiting campaign of 1106. On the other hand, what the author says about Robert the Frisian's pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher, his visit with Alexius, and his return home before 1091, rings true;⁷⁸ these points could in

⁷³ See p. 812, above.

⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.* and n. 11, above.

⁷⁵ Riant based this opinion on two presuppositions: (1) that the *Epistula* was fabricated by Robert of Rheims; and (2) that a writer as lettered as Robert was, would have avoided the anachronisms and other errors which appear in the *argumentum* (Riant *Ep.*, p. xlii; cf. *H Ep.*, p. 185, n. 1). The second of these presuppositions is obviously irrelevant if the *Epistula* was composed by a different writer than Robert of Rheims, as we have adequate reason to believe it was (see p. 831 and n. 97, below).

⁷⁶ Cf. p. 816 and nn. 24, 25, above.

⁷⁷ Cf. n. 34, above.

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

all likelihood be verified by still living eyewitnesses of the events, and would serve to give the impression that the unverifiable information purveyed by the author was equally trustworthy.

The second half of the *argumentum* begins with the assertion that the emperor himself complains in the *Epistula* about being "oppressed by an execrable pagan people whose ruler was the elder Soliman, father of the younger Soliman." Noteworthy is the author's omission here of the names of the Patzinaks and the Turks, although they appear several times in the *Epistula*. The omission was, of course, deliberate; and the reason for it is not far to seek. Our author obviously wished to make it appear that the pagan people from whose abominations the emperor had prayed the Latins to deliver the Christian Greeks was the same people with whom the crusaders came into conflict in Anatolia, namely, the Saljūq Turks of the sultanate of Rūm; for he identifies "the younger Soliman"—i.e., Qilij Arslān I, sultan of Rūm from 1092 or 1093 to 1107⁷⁹—as the ruler "whom our men afterwards, as that book mentions, defeated in martial conflict, forcing him basely to flee."

Postponing momentarily an attempt to identify the book here referred to, we come to the concluding sentence in the *argumentum*—a sentence which suggests, even more definitely than does Guibert's invective against Alexius, the probable purpose of the *Epistula*: "*unde non parum miramur, cur saepedictus imperator tam uenenosum animum contra nostros semper habuerit et reddere mala pro bonis non formidauerit.*"⁸⁰ Our author marvels why the emperor should have been so malevolent toward the crusaders ("nostros"), after they had done him a good turn by routing Qilij Arslān, the ruler of the very people against whom the emperor had entreated the aid of the Latins so urgently, in the *Epistula*. The quoted sentence clearly carries an implication which is quite in line with what seems to be the implication of Guibert's invective, namely, that, since Alexius had implored the Latins to bring him succor, and even invited them to take possession of Constantinople—facts of which the *Epistula* was evidence—and since the Latins had duly responded to his supplication, the emperor's attitude toward, and treatment of, the crusaders amounted to base ingratitude and treachery. Indeed, in the case of the *argumentum*, this implication seems so strong as to be equivalent to a direction for interpretation of the *Epistula*. Hence we may suspect that the *argumentum* was designed to instruct the various dis-

⁷⁹ See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II (Leyden and London, 1927), s.v. "Kilidj Arslān"; *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (New York, 1923), 315; Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (2d ed., rev.; London, 1940), pp. 476, 637.

⁸⁰ Cf. n. 11, above. In *H Ep.*, p. 130, "malo," in the phrase "*reddere malo pro bonis*," is evidently a misprint for *mala* (cf. *Riant Ep.*, p. 10).

seminators of the propaganda of 1106, in what they should say about the *Epistula* in order to persuade their auditors that the document had the significance which the propaganda attributed to it.

The reference in the *argumentum* to a certain book, "liber ille,"⁸¹ which is said to mention the defeat and rout of "the younger Soliman" (Qilij Arslān I) by "our men" (the crusaders), suggests that the *Epistula* served in some sort to supplement the said book. Riant and Hagenmeyer took for granted that "liber ille" was Robert of Rheims's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, to which the *Epistula* is appended in thirty-six of the known thirty-nine manuscript copies.⁸² Natural though this assumption may seem, it is indubitably mistaken. If the book referred to were actually the work by Robert of Rheims, it would in all probability have been so designated, since Robert, in an "Apologeticus sermo" preceding the prologue to the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, definitely identifies himself by name as the author of this work.⁸³ Beyond peradventure, the book in question is none other than our primary eyewitness account of the First Crusade—the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (hereinafter briefly denominated the *Gesta*), copies of which had become available in France by 1106, and probably before the end of 1105.⁸⁴ The anonymity of the *Gesta* adequately explains why the author of the *argumentum* calls it simply "liber ille." That by this expression he could only have meant to designate the *Gesta* is evident, curiously enough, from his indication that "the elder Soliman" was the father of "the younger Soliman" ("*Solimannus ueteranus, pater Solimanni iunioris*").⁸⁵ For, of the three eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade—the *Gesta* and the two narratives written respectively by Raymond of Aguilers⁸⁶ and Fulcher of Chartres,⁸⁷ all of which may possibly have been accessible to the author of the *argumentum*⁸⁸—the *Gesta* alone makes mention of the younger Soliman's father,

⁸¹ Cf. n. 10, above.

⁸² *Riant Ep.*, pp. xli–xlii, lxii, lxiv–lxv; *H Ep.*, p. 186, n. 11.

⁸³ *RHC Occ.*, III, 722.

⁸⁴ Bréhier, ed., *Gesta*, introd., p. xvi; cf. pp. xii–xv. Krey, "A Neglected Passage," *loc. cit.* (above, n. 11 *ad fin.*), pp. 69–77.

⁸⁵ *H Ep.*, p. 130; cf. *Riant Ep.*, p. 9.

⁸⁶ *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, in *RHC Occ.*, III, 235–305.

⁸⁷ *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

⁸⁸ Whether the narratives of Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres were actually available in the West as early as 1105 or 1106 is, I think, an open question; and the possibility that they were is only assumed here for the sake of the argument. In the case of Raymond's narrative, see Hagenmeyer, ed., *Gesta*, introd., pp. 57–58. Fulcher's work could have been available to the author of the *argumentum* only, if at all, in the form in which it appears in Codex L, which constitutes a stylistic revision of the original up to the year 1105 (Bk. II, chap. 33), done by another writer (see Hagenmeyer, ed., Fulcher, *Hist. Hieros.*, introd., pp. 75–78). In this form, Fulcher's narrative was utilized by Guibert of Nogent and also by the so-called Bartolf, author of the *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* (see Hagenmeyer, *ibid.*, pp. 45–46; also above, n. 60 *ad init.*, n. 66).

whom it calls "Soliman the Old" ("*Solimannus dux illorum [sc. Turcorum], filius Solimanni veteris*").⁸⁹ This fact dissipates any lingering doubt that "liber ille" in the *argumentum* refers to the *Gesta*.

At this point our hypothesis supports, and is supported by, the findings of two of the *Gesta's* twentieth century investigators. Louis Bréhier and, especially, August C. Krey may be said to have demonstrated not only that the *Gesta* was without doubt utilized in the recruiting campaign of 1106; but also that, in order the better to serve the purpose of the campaign, it had previously been put into a "revised" and interpolated form—the form in which we have it.⁹⁰ Of the serviceableness of the *Gesta* in this form, as an instrument of the campaign propaganda, there can be no doubt; for it is, on the one hand, highly laudatory of Bohemond, making him the outstanding hero of the First Crusade,⁹¹ and, on the other hand, very hostile to Alexius, whom it describes as "infelix," "iniquus," "nequissimus," "plenus vana et iniqua cogitatione."⁹² However, in order to maintain our hypothesis, we are obliged to show reason why the contrivers of the campaign propaganda should have deemed it necessary to supplement the *Gesta* with the *Epistula*.

⁸⁹ *Gesta*, chap. 10 *ad init.*, ed. by Bréhier, p. 52. The corresponding passage in the work of Raymond of Aguilers runs as follows (chap. 4, *RHC Occ.*, III, 240): "*Ut autem cognovit Solimannus, et qui cum eo erant, exercitum nostrum contra suum in pugnam concurrere*," etc. Fulcher of Chartres twice mentions Soliman (Qilij Arslān): "*Turci, quorum et admiratus et princeps erat Soliman, qui Nicaeam urbem et Romaniam in potestate sua tenebat*," etc. (Bk. I, chap. 11, 4, ed. by Hagenmeyer, pp. 192–93); "*his [certain leaders of the Crusade of 1101] in Romaniae finibus obstitit Soliman Turcus, cui iam diu Franci Nicaeam urbem abstulerant*" (Bk. II, chap. 16, 2, *ibid.*, pp. 430–31). None of the three letters of the crusaders, which mention Qilij Arslān, makes any allusion to his father. Letter of Count Stephen of Blois and Chartres to his wife Adela, indited in the crusader camp near Nicaea ca. June 24, 1097 (*H Ep.*, p. 139, 7): "*Solimannus Turcorum princeps . . . cum magno exercitu in nostros . . . invaserat*"; Letter of Anselm of Ribemont to Archbishop Manasses of Rheims, written in the crusader camp near Antioch toward the end of November, 1097 (*ibid.*, p. 144, 5): "*Solimannus et omnes Turci . . . castra nostra invadere cupientes*," etc.; Letter of Bohemond, Raymond of St. Gilles, Godfrey of Lorraine, Robert of Normandy, Robert (II) of Flanders, and Eustace of Boulogne to Pope Urban II, written at Antioch September 11, 1098 (*ibid.*, p. 161, 3; also in Fulcher of Chartres' *Hist. Hieros.*, Bk. I, chap. 24, 3, ed. by Hagenmeyer, p. 261): "*illum magnum Solimannum fugavissimus*," etc.

⁹⁰ Bréhier, ed., *Gesta*, introd., pp. v–viii, xvi–xvii, also p. 142, n. 1, pp. 144–45 and nn. 1, 2; Krey, "A Neglected Passage," *loc. cit.*, pp. 69–78 and n. 47. Erdmann, it may be noted, referred (*op. cit.*, p. 365, n. 7) to "*die parallelen Darlegungen über die Gesta*," set forth by Bréhier and Krey.

⁹¹ The *Gesta* literally heaps upon Bohemond such epithets as "vir sapiens" (nine times), "vir prudens" (thrice), "vir venerabilis" (twice), "doctissimus" (twice), "honestissimus," "fortissimus," "acerrimus," "bellipotens" (see ed. Bréhier, pp. 18, 28, 30, 32, 36, 44, 46, 48, 60, 66, 74, 76, 82, 84, 106, 136, 152, 158). It represents the crusaders as addressing him, on one occasion, in the following terms: "*Tu sapiens et prudens, tu magnus et magnificus, tu fortis et victor, tu bellorum arbiter et certaminum iudex, hoc totum fac, hoc totum super te sit, omne bonum quod tibi videtur, nobis et tibi operare fac*" (chap. 17, *ibid.*, pp. 82, 84). And it puts these words into the mouth of Bohemond's half brother Guy, when it was (falsely) reported to him that the Turks under Kerbogha had reconquered Antioch from the crusaders, and presumably either killed its defenders or led them into captivity: "*Heu mihi! domine mi Boamunde, honor et decus totius mundi, quem omnis mundus timebat et amabat!*" etc. (chap. 27, *ibid.*, p. 144). See also chap. 22 *ad fin.*, *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁹² See *ibid.*, pp. 16, 24, 30, 40–42.

The ultimate aim of the propaganda as such was, of course, to induce men to enlist for the announced crusading expedition of 1107; and one means to this end would be to engender a vengeful animosity against the basileus by proving him guilty of treachery to the Latins. Now the *Gesta*, despite all it says in the emperor's disfavor,⁹³ sufficed not to establish against him a charge of outright treachery; because it nowhere states, or even implies, that the crusade was undertaken in response to an appeal of Alexius for aid against the Turks. It needed, therefore, to be supplemented with a document which could be passed off as evidence that the emperor had actually besought the Latins for military succor. The *Epistula* is clearly a counterfeit of such evidence. Juxtaposed with the *Gesta*, it could be interpreted as proving *ad nauseam* the truth of the fundamental accusation made against Alexius by the recruiting propaganda of 1106.

Yet we may not conclude that the author of the *Epistula* aimed solely to provide evidence showing the basileus to be guilty of treachery. That he sought also in another way to give impulse to enlistment for the proposed crusade seems evident from the last part of the *Epistula*, where he enumerates the sacred relics preserved in Constantinople and describes the treasure contained in the vaults of the Constantinopolitan churches, in the palaces of the emperor and the nobles, and in the quarters of the merchants. Even Hagenmeyer hesitated not to admit that this part of the *Epistula* derives from other sources than an authentic letter of Alexius to Robert the Frisian.⁹⁴ Is it not manifest that the author seeks here to excite covetousness of the riches of Byzantium?⁹⁵ When he makes the emperor pray the Latins to prevent Constantinople from falling into the hands of the Turks and the Patzinaks, what is this but a device enabling the author to suggest the multitude of precious relics and the enormous treasure in silver, gold, gems, silken garments, etc., that conquerors of the Byzantine capital might seize upon as booty? In this connection it may not be inapposite to adduce certain testimony of the contemporary Norman historian Orderic Vitalis (d. ca. 1142). Orderic informs us that Bohemond, in one of his recruiting harangues, "exhorted all who were trained to the use of arms to rise with him against the emperor, and promised opulent cities and towns to the knights selected as his adjutants." "In consequence," Orderic adds, "many were inflamed with ardor, and having assumed the cross of the Lord, they abandoned all their possessions and set

⁹³ In addition to the references cited in the preceding note, see also *ibid.*, pp. 12, 14, 28-30, 78-80, 140-46.

⁹⁴ *H Ep.*, pp. 200-201, n. 71a *ad fin.*, p. 205, nn. 88, 93, p. 206, nn. 95, 96, p. 207, n. 99; see also n. 19, above.

⁹⁵ Cf. Kohler's suggestion *in re* the enumeration of the relics (mentioned above, p. 820); and see also p. 821 and n. 52, above.

out on the Jerusalem expedition as though they were hurrying to a banquet."⁹⁶ Likely enough, Bohemond only fanned into flame a predatory ardor which had been already kindled in the souls of these *cruce signati* by presentation of the contents of the *Epistula*. In any case, it seems undeniable that our document was calculated not only to prove Alexius guilty of treachery, but also to suggest how profitable it might be to take vengeance on him.

V

Who the inditer of this document was is difficult to determine.⁹⁷ We may logically suppose that he prepared it at the request of, and in accordance with suggestions given by, Bohemond. It seems probable that the compilation was done in Italy in 1105, soon after the propaganda of the recruiting campaign which took place the following year had been decided upon, and that, before the end of 1105 or very early in 1106, a number of copies of both the *Epistula* and the *Gesta* (in its revised and interpolated form) were sent to France, with a view to smoothing the way for the campaign.⁹⁸

If the *Epistula* is based in some part on an authentic letter of Alexius to Robert the Frisian, then the said letter by our hypothesis not only must have been preserved after Count Robert's death (1093) but also it must by some chance have been available in Italy in 1105. However unlikely this chance may seem, it cannot be ruled out as impossible, especially since there are several things to be said in favor of the view that the *Epistula* reflects an actual communication of the basileus. The information it gives about Alexius' military predicament, undeniably corresponds with the situation that confronted the emperor in February–March, 1091, as this situation is described by his daughter in the *Alexiad*.⁹⁹ It is quite conceivable that Alexius at that

⁹⁶ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bk. XI, chap. 12, ed. by A. Le Prevost, IV (Paris, 1852), 213. The eleventh book of this work appears to have been written not later than 1135. See *ibid.*, p. 159, vs. 8 and n. 1. Cf. the Notice, by L. Delisle, *ibid.*, V (Paris, 1855), xlviii, xlix; Maximilianus Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, hrsg. v. W. Otto, IX, ii, 3) (Munich, 1931), 525 and n. 2.

⁹⁷ Riant's suggestion that the author was perhaps Robert of Rheims, or an anonymous Rheims clerk in the crusade entourage of Count Robert II of Flanders (*Riant Ep.*, pp. xlii–xliii, lxi–lxiii), was based on the view that the *Epistula* had been fabricated between June, 1098, and July, 1099 (cf. p. 819 and n. 38, p. 820 and n. 44, above) and that Robert of Rheims may have participated in the First Crusade, which is very unlikely (see Molinier, II, 282, No. 2118; Manitius, III, 425). I would subscribe to the following statement of Gaston Paris, in his review of *Riant Ep.* (*loc. cit.* [n. 25, above], p. 386): "Celui qui . . . a composé [la lettre (i.e., the *Epistula*)] devait . . . être assez étranger au comte de Flandre. . . . Il n'y a aucune vraisemblance à ce que ce fabricant ait été Robert de Saint-Remi. La lettre est, il est vrai dans beaucoup de manuscrits, jointe à un récit de la première croisade; mais cela prouve simplement que Robert ou un de ses copistes l'a connue et recueillie."

⁹⁸ With respect to the *Gesta*, I believe I am here substantially in agreement with Krey ("A Neglected Passage," *loc. cit.*, pp. 75–76).

⁹⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, viii. 3, ed. by Leib, II, 133–34; cf. the English trans. by Elizabeth Dawes, pp. 198–99. See also Chalandon, pp. 128–32.

time importuned Robert the Frisian—from whom he already had obtained five hundred Flemish knights—to recruit and bring to his aid a sizable army of Western mercenaries. It also is conceivable that the emperor in his letter of solicitation made mention of the territorial losses inflicted upon Byzantium by the Patzinaks and the Turks, and that he described these invaders as barbarous peoples, very brutal to the Christians who had come under their domination. And in order to reinforce his appeal, he may perhaps have adverted to the calamity it would be for Christendom at large, if non-Christians should gain possession of Constantinople, the incomparable storehouse of sacred relics. These and other considerations may be alleged in support of the view that the compiler of the *Epistula* had before him when he wrote, an authentic letter of Alexius, which he proceeded to turn into an *excitatorium*.

To be sure there is much in the *Epistula* which could not have been derived from an authentic letter—e.g., the shocking details relative to the maltreatment of Christians by the Patzinaks and the Turks, the nomenclature of the relics, the extravagant and undisguisedly enticing description of the wealth of Constantinople, and, above all, the invitation to the Latins to possess themselves of the Byzantine capital. But while the presence in it of matter such as this shows plainly that the *Epistula* is not simply a translation (however bad) of an authentic communication of Alexius, yet, since it also contains matter the substance of which could have appeared in a genuine imperial letter dispatched in the late winter of 1091, it seems reasonable to admit that this document is not necessarily a total fabrication. Perhaps it does rest, to some (not precisely determinable) extent, on a no longer extant missive of Alexius to the count of Flanders¹⁰⁰—a missive which was exploited for a purpose directly opposite to the one it had been intended to serve.

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¹⁰⁰ The question as to whether this missive had anything to do with the origination of the crusade movement cannot be dealt with here. For an affirmative view, see Hagenmeyer, "Der Brief des Kaisers Alexios," *loc. cit.* (n. 29, above), pp. 30-32.

America at the World Fairs, 1851-1893*

MERLE CURTI

THE story of American participation in the international exhibitions of agriculture and industry has never been told.¹ It is a story rich in human interest. The increasing American participation in world fairs reflected the expansion of American patriotism and enterprise in the last half of the nineteenth century. At these "tournaments of industry" our exhibits provided a measuring rod for the relative status of American and European technology. They also provided a mirror for the changing attitudes of the rest of the world toward American civilization.

American participation in the foreign exhibits was not taken for granted until the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In the beginning participation was timid and private. The question of public support for exhibitors was threshed out in the press and in Congress, opposition being broken down only by a barrage of arguments and pressures, and, as time went on, by the experiences of actual participation.

Among the motives and arguments for American participation in overseas exhibitions was the desire to publicize the nation's resources, industries, and social and economic institutions. Sensitive to European prejudices and attitudes of superiority, Americans, at first haltingly, took with increasing seriousness the opportunity to proclaim at the world fairs the national achievements and potentialities. This note was struck during the discussions of the advisability of being represented at the great exhibition of 1851 in London—the parent of all succeeding international exhibitions. In answer to the widely held view in America that the great show at the Crystal Palace was a mere "mammoth speculation" promoted by John Bull for his own ends, it was maintained that the exhibition of specimens of American industry at London would give Europe "a juster appreciation and a more perfect knowledge of what this Republic is, than could be attained in any other way." Recalling the impression made on the world by the recent victory over Mexico, a writer

*I am indebted to Kendall Birr, Frederick Jackson Turner research assistant at the University of Wisconsin, for help in collecting materials for certain parts of this study.

¹ There are references to the Crystal Palace exhibition in John Kuohoven's *Made in America* (New York, 1948), pp. 18 ff., Halvdan Koht's *The American Spirit in Europe* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 92 ff., and Roger Burlingame's *Backgrounds of Power* (New York, 1949), pp. 157 ff. For the Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, held in London in 1862, see Richard O. Cummings, "American Interest in World Agriculture, 1861-1865," *Agricultural History*, XXIII (April, 1949), 157 ff. The best general account of the international exhibitions is that of Guy Stanton Ford in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* (New York, 1930-1935, 15 vols.), VI, 23-27.

in one journal remarked that participation in the exhibition would "show to the nations of Europe that our mechanical and inventive resources are equal to what we possess in a military point of view."²

In arguing for official support of American participation in the Paris exhibition of 1867, Americans developed still further this point of view. N. M. Beckwith, an American long resident in Paris, called to the attention of John Bigelow, minister to France, the "deficiency of exact information in Europe in regard to America previous to the rebellion, in a political, literary, and moral sense, in a physical, geographical, statistical, financial, industrial, scientific, and productive sense, and in every sense." Though victory in arms had made the United States better known than "all the events of their previous history," Beckwith argued that an exhibition of the products of America in the center of Europe would produce "an impression of surprise analogous to that produced by the disclosures of the war." This impression, he continued, would be most marked among the intelligent, skilled portion of the productive classes, whose labor and knowledge were needed in the United States. American participation, if well planned and truly national, was bound in the end to return to the Treasury, by increased immigration and augmented revenues, more than its cost.³ The Paris correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* urged that a good exhibit was the best possible advertising medium: it would prove that the United States could be independent of all nations.⁴ In London the *Anglo-American Times* echoed all these views. It also urged that a worthy display of American power and wealth would enhance the value of the American bonds presently to be negotiated to meet the national indebtedness and dispel the distrust of European capitalists on whom the United States still depended for loans for the development of resources.⁵

Perhaps moved by such considerations Secretary of State Seward submitted a report to the President in which, on economic grounds, he urged American participation.⁶ Since Congress was not in session, the State Department took steps to insure that participation. Thus in the spring of 1866 when Congress took up the matter, it was in a sense faced by a *fait accompli*. In the

² *Journal of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, I (Feb. 1, 1851), 141. The name of the American newspaper is not given. For American reactions to the proposed Crystal Palace exhibition see New York *Herald*, Jan. 8, 1851, and New York *Daily Tribune*, Jan. 14, 1851. See also D. Eldon Hall, *A History of the Great Exhibition of Industry of All Nations* (Redfield, N. J., 1852), p. 40.

³ N. M. Beckwith to John Bigelow, Nov. 23, 1865, in "Universal Exposition at Paris," *House Executive Document No. 12*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54; New York *Evening Post*, Dec. 11, 1865; *The French Universal Exhibition of 1867: Interesting Letters from the United States Commissioner Beckwith and Other Papers* (Washington, 1866), pp. 6-7.

⁵ *Anglo-American Times*, July 28, Aug. 25, Oct. 13, 1866, Feb. 9, Mar. 16, 1867.

⁶ *House Exec. Doc. No. 12*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2.

heated debates in Congress General Nathaniel Banks of Massachusetts, in supporting the resolution for appropriations and official participation, argued that "it is in our power to represent the social and political character of the country in such a way as to attract the attention of other nations . . . and thus place before the world an enlarged view of the condition and the prospect of American civilization." Through its exhibit of the materiel and organization of the armed forces, the government could impress upon the peoples of Europe and Asia the fact that American friendship was worth courting. "It is a duty," Banks concluded, "we owe to other nations, as well as to ourselves, to show them what we are."⁷ Henry Raymond of New York looked on the exhibition as a contest between the products of labor under democratic liberty and those under monarchical despotism.⁸ These arguments, together with the support of chambers of commerce and the party organization, overrode the opposition, which argued that an appropriation was bound to benefit special interests rather than the people as a whole, that the ingenuity of American enterprise could secure adequate American representation at Paris, and that the United States, "scorned, insulted, and spit upon by every nation in Europe except one during the long and bloody war through which we had just passed," should not kowtow to the despot Napoleon, no friend of ours as his support of Maximilian in Mexico showed.⁹

The arguments for generous support of American participation in the Vienna exhibition of 1873 resembled those heard in 1867.¹⁰ Senator Oliver Morton of Indiana contended that our displays at London and Paris had been so meager as to give Europe improper notions regarding our resources and manufactures. If we sent a first-rate display, we should be engaging in "the best advertisement of the resources, wealth, and the attractions of the United States that can be made."¹¹ Others argued that participation would enable the country to make "a perfect and full representation" in central and eastern Europe not only of our mechanical and natural resources but of "our system of government." The exhibit we might send to the rulers of other lands would afford "new proofs of the strength of our Republic, and to their peoples fresh aspirations for comforts and freedom."¹²

In view of circumstances associated with the American participation in the Vienna exhibition and the prevailing hard times, it was necessary to

⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1371 ff. (Mar. 13, 1866).

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1397-98 (Mar. 14, 1866).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 3156 ff.

¹⁰ The volume of newspaper clippings on the proposed exhibition and American participation reveal widespread enthusiasm for congressional support. "Vienna Exhibition of 1873," Department of State Archives, National Archives.

¹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 42 Cong., 3 sess., p. 623 (Jan. 16, 1873).

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 252-53 (Dec. 17, 1872); Appendix, p. 3 (Dec. 19, 1872).

muster heavy arguments and support to break down the opposition to appropriations for participation in the Paris exhibition of 1878—an opposition more formidable than that on any earlier occasion. Abram Hewitt of New York and Charles Williams of Wisconsin maintained that America had benefited measurably from past exhibitions: our exports had been greatly increased.¹³ A like emphasis marked the argument of William Crapo of Massachusetts: “Our capacity for production exceeds our consumption. Relief for this industry must come, not through tariffs, but it must come through exportation.”¹⁴ Significantly, the votes in Congress on appropriations for subsidies show that support for official participation came chiefly from the industrial northeastern and middle states, and from the commercial centers of the South and West.

Similar arguments accompanied the efforts to insure generous government support for participation in the exhibitions at Sydney and Melbourne¹⁵ and in the international fisheries exhibitions at Berlin and London.¹⁶ When it was clear that the Columbian Historical Exhibition at Madrid in 1892–1893 was evoking little interest in the United States, the American legation finally persuaded the government to take part, not only to insure Spanish participation at the Chicago World’s Fair but as an inducement to Spain to lift the embargo on American pork.¹⁷

In addition to the arguments that American participation in the international exhibitions was good advertising to attract European skilled immigrants and capital, to increase American exports, and to publicize American institutions and enhance American prestige, champions of American participation brought forth in the debates other considerations. These included the argument that the United States should take part in the Paris exhibitions as a token of appreciation of French aid in establishing American independence; and the further argument, especially evident in the discussions of 1877 and 1888, that the United States was in duty bound to support a sister republic surrounded by monarchies and endeavoring to prove the validity of republican institutions.¹⁸ Representative McCreary of Kentucky struck a related but distinct note when he declared that we must take part in the Paris

¹³ *Congressional Record*, VI, 45 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 528, 536 ff. (Nov. 19, 1877).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 542 (Nov. 19, 1877).

¹⁵ O. M. Spencer to Secretary of State F. W. Seward, Melbourne, Mar. 25, 1879, Department of State Archives.

¹⁶ Andrew D. White to Secretary of State William M. Evarts, Jan. 5, 28, Feb. 18, 1880, Department of State Archives; *Congressional Record*, XIII, 47 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 5116 ff. (June 19, 1882); *House Report No. 1413*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 203 ff.

¹⁷ General E. Burd Grubb to Secretary of State Blaine, Madrid, May 18, 1892, Department of State Archives.

¹⁸ *Congressional Record*, VI, 45 Cong., 1 sess., p. 513 (Nov. 10, 1877); *House Report No. 135*, House Resolution 83, 50 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2.

exhibition inasmuch as "God in His wisdom established this Republic in order that it might stand out before the world as a model by which other lovers of liberty might fashion their governments—as an illustration of what freemen may accomplish in a 'government of the people, by the people, and for the people.'" ¹⁹

Finally, in all the discussions regarding American participation, the argument was made that the United States could learn valuable lessons from the industrial and artistic displays of the Old World. Thus Secretary of State Seward included among his arguments for official support of American exhibitors at the Paris show of 1867 the advantages American agriculture and industry would gain from the diffusion of useful knowledge.²⁰ This argument generally prevailed over the counterproposition that by sending our products abroad we would enable European competitors to steal our secrets and ruthlessly grab our markets.

Thanks to all these arguments, and to other considerations, the American government provided vessels for transporting exhibits to the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 and to the Vienna exhibition of 1873. Additional appropriations varying from \$2,000 to \$200,000 were made, beginning with the London exhibition of 1862. These grants provided for the payment of official American commissioners, for transporting and unpacking exhibits, for decorating and in some cases for constructing quarters for the American exhibits, and for other expenses incidental to participation.²¹

When the efforts of Abbott Lawrence, minister to England, failed to secure a congressional appropriation to aid exhibitors at the Crystal Palace in 1851, many agriculturalists and industrialists, left to their own initiative and resources, hesitated to risk time and money in sending exhibits to the experiment across the seas.²² The contrast between the official sponsorship of all other foreign exhibitors at London and the private nature of American participation was brought home when it was apparent that of all the compartments in the palace the American rooms alone were bare and undecorated. Worse, no one had money for unloading the cargo of the *Lawrence*, which Congress had provided, and for transporting the exhibits to the Crystal Palace. American chagrin was as deep as the tauntings in the British

¹⁹ *Congressional Record*, XIX, 50 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1651 (Mar. 1, 1888).

²⁰ *House Exec. Doc. No. 12*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2. Seward also cited the moral influence of American participation just after the Civil War.

²¹ The exact amount of the appropriations and the various stipulations regarding their expenditure can be traced in *United States Statutes at Large*, XII, 328, XIV, 362-63, XVII, 637-38, XX, 245-46, XXII, 387-89, XXV, 620-22.

²² Abbott Lawrence to Secretary of State Clayton, London, Apr. 5, 1850, Department of State Archives; *Washington National Intelligencer*, Jan. 5, 1851; *Journal of the Great Exhibition of 1851*, p. 46 (Nov. 23, 1850).

press were annoying. To the rescue came George Peabody, American banker resident in London. Digging down into his pockets Peabody brought forth \$15,000 to decorate the American compartment and to transport and arrange the exhibits.²³

Nor were these embarrassments the only ones responsible for the initially unfavorable impression created by the American exhibits. In their grandiose expectations the Americans had asked for and got far more space than their exhibits warranted. The New Jersey commissioners believed that after the opening, when knowledge of the great displays reached the United States, many more contributors would have forwarded their articles had not "taunts, aspersions, and petty ridicule" in the English papers at the poverty of the American displays aroused national indignation and deepened the original impression that the United States would not get fair play.²⁴ In a more sober vein the London *Morning Chronicle* announced that the American exhibit was neither what had been expected of the United States nor an adequate representation of her capabilities.²⁵ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* concluded that on the whole the United States had come out feebly in the arts. It conceded, to be sure, that Hiram Powers' "Greek Slave," which adorned the American compartment, was "marvellously fine," but it added the cutting remark that this one redeeming feature had after all been contributed by its London owner.²⁶ In commenting on the vacant spaces in the American division the *Eclectic Review* observed that this American "vaulting ambition" which had "overleaped itself" was not untypical of the adolescent republic across the Atlantic.²⁷

The tide of opinion suddenly changed after the practical demonstration of agricultural implements at Tiptree Hall. To the surprise of almost everyone the American agricultural machinery, especially the reapers of Obed Hussey and Cyrus McCormick and the draft plow of Prouty and Mears, far exceeded in speed, efficiency, and endurance any and all competitors. European savants had passed by the reapers and plows as unworthy of science and burly Englishmen had ridiculed them as huge, unwieldy, and unsightly. But the celerity and exactness of the action in the trials surprised the spectators, convinced the incredulous, and satisfied British farmers that here was something not dreamed of in their fondest reveries.²⁸ The favorable impres-

²³ Abbott Lawrence to Secretary of State Webster, London, Nov. 6, 1851, Department of State Archives.

²⁴ *Report of the New Jersey Commissioners to the World's Fair* (Trenton, 1852), p. 17.

²⁵ *London Morning Chronicle*, May 17, 1851, in *Littell's Living Age*, XXX (July, 1851), 34.

²⁶ *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, XV (May 31, 1851), 339.

²⁷ *Eclectic Review*, XCIII (June, 1851), 746.

²⁸ See the enthusiastic testimony of an expert witness, cited from the *Journal of the Royal*

sion of American technology was heightened when the crack British lock-picker failed to open the American Hobbs' locks, whereas British locks, long deemed impregnable, yielded to American dexterity.²⁹ In military circles the Colt revolvers and the Robbins and Lawrence rifles—with "the various parts made to interchange"—were clearly superior to all comparable small arms and created a profound impression. *Punch* taunted the amazed John Bull:

Your gunsmiths of their skill may crack,
But that again don't mention;
I guess that Colt's revolvers whack
Their very first invention.
By Yankee Doodle, too, you're beat
Downright in Agriculture,
With his machine for reaping wheat,
Chaw'd up as by a vulture.³⁰

Still other American exhibits began to attract attention. The sewing machines of Isaac M. Singer, of Lerow and Blodgett, and of Grover and Baker performed admirably, although as yet the great utility of the new invention failed to be fully appreciated; Hayden's ingenious cotton drawing-frame and the saw-gin for cleansing cotton; stoves and ventilating apparatus; machinery for spinning, sewing, planing, turning; stone-cutting devices; the Morse telegraph; Goodyear rubber materials; fire-engines and furnaces; printing presses; clocks and surgical instruments; the Jersey locomotives; oil lamps, pianos, violins, daguerreotypes, and artificial legs; all these won high praise.³¹ The very people, in some cases, who had earlier passed by the American exhibits with hurried and indifferent glances, now stopped to admire the wheat, cotton, flax, timber, and fruit, the hams, the copper, the iron ore, the gold, the textiles, the boots and shoes that had crossed the Atlantic.³² A writer in the *Westminster Review*, in discussing new styles of clothing, observed that the American cousins were introducing more sensible women's garments, just as they were exporting crackers and rocking chairs,

Agricultural Society, in *Official Description and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* (London, 1851, 3 vols.) III, 1437-38. See, on the agricultural displays, William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick* (New York, 1930) I, 382-94. See also *Report of the New Jersey Commissioners to the World's Fair*, p. 17.

²⁹ *Westminster Review*, LX (July, 1851), 198.

³⁰ Quoted in Charles T. Rodgers, *American Superiority at the World's Fair* (Philadelphia, 1852), p. 91.

³¹ *Lectures on the Progress of Arts and Science* . . . (New York, 1854), pp. 262, 264, 281-82, 313, 325; *London Times*, Sept. 2, 1851; *New York State Register*, Nov. 11, 1851, quoted in Rodgers, pp. 90-91; *Journal of the Great Exhibition*, Mar. 8, 1851, p. 182.

³² Hall, p. 43; *Daily News*, quoted in Rodgers, p. 62; *Eclectic Review*, XCIV (November, 1851), 633.

sherry-cobblers, mint-juleps, gin-slings, and Wenham-lake ice.³³ To cap the climax the yacht *America*, in the races off Cowes, came through in a "transcendent victory."³⁴

The total number of exhibitors from all nations was 15,000, of whom 10,184 were British and colonial. The United States was represented by 534 exhibitors. In proportion to the number of articles displayed, American exhibitors won more prizes than many of the Continental nations, and, indeed, more relatively than Britain herself. Of the 170 Council medals, awarded for especial originality of design, the Americans won only five—the Borden "meat biscuit," the Dick engine tools and presses, the Bond device for observing astronomical phenomena, the Goodyear India rubber, and the McCormick reaper.³⁵

British comments, after the announcement of the awards, were revealing. According to Benjamin Pierce Johnson, an agent of New York State, many British and foreign visitors, on learning that the American government had taken no part in the exhibition, marveled that so much had been accomplished. "The influence of our exhibition . . ." he reported, "has more powerfully demonstrated the peculiar advantages of our free institutions in the development of the energies of the people, than could have been done if the government had made a large appropriation."³⁶ In general, the British, while insisting that American industrial products could not approach those of Europe in glamour and splendor, admitted that they far exceeded European products in utility, in comfort, and in appeal to the great masses. The *London Times*, noting the American eye to the mass market, the emphasis on saving labor and time, on utility and comfort, and on the reduction of cost, declared that "Great Britain has received more useful ideas, and more ingenious inventions, from the United States, through the exhibition, than from all other sources."³⁷

The superiorities of American industry were related in some European circles to our democratic way of life. The *London Observer* wrote that the industrial system of the Americans, "unfettered by ancient usage, and by the pomp and magnificence which our social institutions countenance, is essentially democratic in its tendencies. . . . No Government of favoritism raises any manufacture to a pre-eminence, which secures for it the patronage of the wealthy. Every thing is entrusted to the ingenuity of individuals, who look

³³ *Westminster Review*, LV (July, 1851), 197.

³⁴ *London Times*, Sept. 2, 1851.

³⁵ *Report of the New Jersey Commissioners*, p. 15.

³⁶ Benjamin Pierce Johnson, *Report of the Agent of the State of New York* (Albany, 1852), p. 13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

for their reward to public demand alone." While the *Observer* did not admit that American utility and cheapness had as yet affected the mechanical superiority of England, it believed that the Americans had shown how the mother country might improve and extend its achievements in the peaceful arts.³⁸

The Liverpool *Times* concluded that the Americans were "no longer to be ridiculed, much less despised." America, continued the Liverpool paper, is in her own phrase "going ahead" and "will assuredly pass us unless we accelerate our speed." The final British reactions indicated that American participation, despite the shortcomings of the exhibit, greatly exalted the country in the eyes of other lands.³⁹

The favorable impression created in the end by the Americans at London was not sustained at Paris in 1855. Only fifty-four exhibitors found a place in the American section, although space had been reserved for 1,200.⁴⁰ "One is cruelly disappointed," wrote a French visitor, "when, arriving at the pavilion indicated as the galleries of the Union, one finds only a few bales of cotton, a few machines and diverse rubber objects. Who would have believed that this great American people, which seems to have atrophied all the artistic part of human nature in order to concentrate on agriculture, industry, and commerce, who would have believed that this great nation . . . would have so fallen down in the great exhibition of 1855!"⁴¹ Admitting that the Americans displayed a few ingenious machines to make paper sacks and to work wood, some famous revolvers, some commendable daguerreotypes, the Illinois reapers, several Goodyear rubber objects, a few interesting books and some well-manufactured objects, the prevailing French view seems to have been that these exhibits had little to teach the Old World.⁴² Goodyear received the coveted cross of the Legion of Honor and other Americans were generously recognized by awards and honorable mentions—in high proportion to the total number of exhibits.⁴³ Nevertheless the expectations that America's reputation for prosperity and ingenuity had aroused, emphasized all the more the disappointment in what had been shown.

American participation in the London exhibition of 1862 was still largely unofficial in character.⁴⁴ The exhibits included some works of art—J. F. Crop-

³⁸ London *Observer*, quoted in Rodgers, pp. 127-28.

³⁹ Liverpool *Times*, Aug. 27, 1851, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 89. See also *An Account of the Proceedings at the Dinner given by Mr. George Peabody . . .* (London, 1851), pp. 30 ff.

⁴⁰ *Communication from the Governor [Myron Clark] transmitting the Report of Alexander Vattmare on the Universal Exposition of Paris*, Senate No. 108 (Albany, 1856), p. 4.

⁴¹ *Visite à l'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1855. Sous la direction de M. Tresca* (Paris, 1855), p. 5.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁴³ *Communication from the Governor . . .*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Edward Everett to Secretary of State Seward, Sept. 18, 1861, Miscellaneous Letters, Depart-

sey's "Autumn Scenes" and examples of the sculpture of William Wetmore Story and Harriet Hosmer. But the steam plows, the milking machines, the McCormick reapers, the Allen engine, the sewing machines, carriages and locomotives aroused the greatest admiration.⁴⁵ The Americans again received a larger proportion of awards to the articles exhibited than any other country (83 out of 95). The *Practical Mechanics' Magazine* was enthusiastic about the Allen engine and other American technological triumphs. The New York commissioner reported that he "found machines on exhibition from the Continent, to which prizes were awarded for their superiority, copied entirely from American machines which had been purchased in this country, and *exhibited* as the invention of another country."⁴⁶ In conclusion the New York commissioner wrote that American participation had been "the means of showing the world the resources of our country, and the importance of our free institutions in developing the talents and capabilities of our citizens, which could not have been done in any other manner."⁴⁷ If this was the case there was, in view of the dominant hostility toward the North among the conservative classes of Europe, reason for satisfaction.

At the Hamburg exhibition of 1863 American reapers and other machines won awards, as did American livestock. Participation was entirely unofficial. The only note Congress took in 1865 of the international exhibitions at Bergen and Oporto was to pass a joint resolution asking the President to make known to the people of the United States the facts concerning these enterprises.⁴⁸

American participation in the Paris exhibition of 1867 was the first really impressive proof to Europe of the great strides the country had taken even in the midst of civil war. It is true that many of the plans of the American commissioners, headed by N. M. Beckwith, failed. It was hoped, for example, that Indians in various stages of civilization might be brought to Paris, not only to enlighten scientists but to convince Europe that the government was not guilty, as prevailing opinion held, of having pursued merely "a cold and cruel policy."⁴⁹ But the Secretary of the Interior did not think well of the

ment of State Archives; *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 1 sess., XXXI, 226, 232, 288. See also Cummings, "American Interest in World Agriculture, 1861-1865," *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ For comments on American exhibits see *London Times*, July 12, 1862, and *Record of the International Exhibition* (Glasgow, 1862), *passim*.

⁴⁶ B. P. Johnson, *Report on the International Exhibition of Industry and Art* (Albany, 1863), p. 37; New York State Agricultural Society, *Transactions* (1862), pp. 115-19.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8. J. W. Hoyt of Wisconsin distributed 2,000 copies among representatives of various nations of his report on the *Resources, Conditions and Progress of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1860), J. W. Hoyt, *Reports on the London and Paris Exhibitions of 1862 and 1867* (Madison, 1869), p. 43.

⁴⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, XIII, 38 Cong., p. 572.

⁴⁹ N. M. Beckwith to J. C. Derby, Jan. 16, 1866; Derby to Beckwith, Dec. 12, 1866; Derby

idea, and it came to nothing. The long delay of Congress in appropriating funds made it impossible to calculate needed space. The general failure of American exhibitors to furnish inventories caused endless trouble. The situation was made worse by the fact that most Americans at Paris knew no French.

On the opening day the American section was less ready than that of any other nation save Italy. Only after the third week did the American compartment, with its dead pink walls, take on some semblance of order.⁵⁰ Some of the American commissioners were bitter in their condemnation of Beckwith. "We felt," wrote one, "that we were in a big ship, freighted heavily with our nation's reputation—a cargo that we were unwilling to have sink where all nations of the earth had assembled and would be witnesses. We had lost confidence in our captain."⁵¹ Beckwith was, to be sure, inexperienced in such matters, but there was less point to the jibe that his long residence abroad had made him aristocratic and ignorant of his country.

Many regretted the lack of certain American displays and the inadequacy of others. Beckwith himself lamented the absence of heavy products, such as the Dunderberg gun, at a time when the whole world was buying heavy guns and ships and when only two countries besides the United States could supply these.⁵² Abram Hewitt reported that the exhibit of iron and steel was so meager that foreigners could only conclude that this industry was not entitled to the rank that it undoubtedly occupied in the metallic production of the world.⁵³ The exhibit of printing and books likewise fell short in terms of what might have been done.⁵⁴ Nor did the examples of furniture represent American achievements.⁵⁵ A few commentators even went so far as to regard the whole American participation as a failure.⁵⁶

Europeans likewise found much to criticize. American manufactures were regarded as deficient in grace, design, fertile combinations of pleasing colors, elegant forms, and elaborate finish. The consul general of the Swedes

to Beckwith, Jan. 4, 1867; Beckwith to Derby, Dec. 27, 1866; Beckwith to Seward, Sept. 19, 1866, "Paris Exhibition of 1867," Department of State Archives.

⁵⁰ Derby to Beckwith, Oct. 11, 1866; Beckwith to Seward, Apr. 3, 1866, *ibid.*

⁵¹ *Report of the Commissioner to attend the Universal Exhibition of 1867 at Paris*, Vermont Senate Document No. 2 (Rutland, 1867), p. 42. See also "Report of James M. Usher, Principal Agent for Massachusetts at the Universal Exposition, held in Paris, France, in 1867," *Massachusetts Legislative Documents, 1868*, Senate No. 333, pp. 10 ff.

⁵² Beckwith to Thurlow Weed, July 15, 1867, "Paris Exhibition of 1867," Miscellaneous Letters, No. 3, Department of State Archives.

⁵³ Abram S. Hewitt, "The Production of Iron and Steel," *Paris Universal Exposition, 1867: Reports of the United States Commissioners*, II (Washington, 1870), 1.

⁵⁴ "General Survey of the Exhibition," *ibid.*, p. 318.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁵⁶ *Harpers' Monthly Magazine*, XXXV (July, 1867), 242; Rev. E. S. Atwood in the *Centennial Eagle*, I (Aug. 15, 1876), 122.

and Norwegians reported that despite the prodigious abundance of combustible oils in the United States, America was not represented by outstanding specimens and that those shown indicated that production was inferior to that of certain European countries.⁵⁷ A British writer contended that American machinery glittered with polish and varnish which too often concealed inferior workmanship; and he stoutly maintained that British steam plows and threshing machines were superior for this reason to American products.⁵⁸ A French observer believed that the American exhibits suggested that in the United States the emphasis in industry was on production rather than on perfection.⁵⁹ The Belgian commissioners, in contrasting the mass production of American portable arms with the craftsmanship of the Liège shops, implied that the advantage lay with the latter.⁶⁰

Yet there was a brighter side to the picture. The Swedish consul general admired the ambulances and pharmaceutical arrangements in the exhibits of the Sanitary Corps: the Republic had obviously spared nothing in organizing and perfecting military hospitals.⁶¹ American food exhibits, together with statistical tables illustrating production, suggested that the United States could virtually feed the world.⁶² A distinguished Frenchman told a member of the New York Agricultural Society that the American gallery of raw materials was proof that, once the United States borrowed from the older countries some part of their experience and intellectual wealth, it would dominate the economic world as it had already captured the imagination and the future of the political world.⁶³

The Americans came off better than many expected in industrial consumers' goods and far better than Europeans had predicted in technology. Rugs, carpets, textiles, shoes, and other consumers' goods took various awards and honorable mentions.⁶⁴ McCormick won a grand prize and the cross of the Legion of Honor for his reaper; Wood went home with a gold medal and

⁵⁷ M. Jules Le Roux, *L'industrie moderne au Champs de Mars* (Paris, n.d.), p. 17.

⁵⁸ *Fraser's Magazine*, LXXVI (October, 1867), 421.

⁵⁹ L. Tenre, *Les États Américains, leurs produits, leur commerce, en vue de l'Exposition universelle de Paris* (Paris, 1867), p. 91.

⁶⁰ *L'Exposition universelle de Paris en 1867: Documents et rapports de la Belgique* (Brussels, 1868, 4 vols.), II, 352.

⁶¹ Le Roux, p. 17.

⁶² Friedrich Freiherr von Moreau, *Bericht über den Landwirtschaftlichen Theil der Weltausstellung zu Paris im 1867* (Munich, 1867); *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris: Rapports du jury international* (Paris, 1867, 13 vols.), VI, 420, XI, 22, 212, 372; *Report of the Special Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of New York* (New York, 1867), p. 26; William P. Blake, *Report of the Commissioner to the Paris Exposition*, California Legislature, Appendix to the Journal, 17 sess., 1867-68, III, 265-66.

⁶³ Elliott C. Cowdin, *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867: An Address delivered before the New York State Agricultural Society* (Albany, 1868), p. 22.

⁶⁴ *General Survey of the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867: Report of the United States Commissioner*, I (Washington, 1870), 9, 248 ff.

the cross for his mowing machine. Cyrus Field was honored for his Atlantic cable, David Hughes for his printing telegraph. American small arms, machine tools, and engines won great praise. Coveted prizes and awards went to the Grant locomotive, the Sharp machine for making screws, the Sellers' planing machines, and above all the reciprocating Corliss engine—with its rotary valves and governor that controlled the admission of steam into the cylinder, an invention that ranks Corliss with Watt. Machines for elevating water in parks, for peeling apples, beating carpets, cleaning glasses, washing and ironing linen; automatic flour sieves, safes, brickmaking machines, ramps, pumps, haymaking machines, model baking houses, Erickson's hot-air machines, Herring's safes, and Fairbanks' scales; machines for woodworking and typedressing; all these attracted interest and won admiration.⁶⁵

Commissioner General Beckwith concluded that the over-all view, expressed by innumerable Europeans, was that the American display was "more fertile than any other in the original, the inventive, the peculiar, the new."⁶⁶ As our machines were already being copied in Europe we might hope, Beckwith remarked, that American industrial products, adapted to mass use, might take on the grace, color, and design that distinguished European output. Kings and nobles, declared another American official at Paris, could not but contrast the gewgaws and splendid ornamental articles of their own nations with the "unadorned but highly useful contributions of America" in consequence of which "new and enlarged ideas" entered the European mind.⁶⁷ Dr. Otto Thieme, commissioner from Iowa, expressed a typical American view in reporting that "with limited means we have achieved great results. In the branches of ingenious yet simple inventions and constructions, the application of theory to practice, the saving of time and labor, and of grand, practical conceptions, we are, to-day, the admitted champions of the world."⁶⁸

In spheres other than natural resources and technology the American display was, to be sure, less noteworthy. Yet there was much that called attention to American scientific advance: the impressive planetarium, the microscopes, and other instruments of precision. There was general applause as well as prizes for the sensitiveness, accuracy, and force of American pianos—Chickering's, Steinways, Mason and Hamlin's. Minister Bigelow, who on the threshold of the exhibition had noted that the literature of the United

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*; N. M. Beckwith to Thurlow Weed, July 15, 1867, "Paris Exhibition of 1867," Miscellaneous Letters, No. 3, Department of State Archives.

⁶⁶ Beckwith to Seward, Jan. 21, 1867, "Paris Exhibition of 1867," Department of State Archives.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Vermont Commissioner*, p. 47.

⁶⁸ *Report of Dr. Otto Thieme, Commissioner of the State of Iowa to the Paris Exposition of 1867* (Des Moines, 1868), p. 29.

States had exerted hardly more influence on France than that of China,⁶⁹ must have been disappointed in the display of American books. But dictionaries, encyclopedias, and tracts for the blind won favor. In the art exhibits the Americans did not seem to Europeans to be either impressive or original; but the technical skill and sensitiveness of the "Sleeping Fawn" of Harriet Hosmer and of the landscapes of Kensett and Church were granted. The spectacular paintings of Albert Bierstadt, Winslow Homer's "Confederate Prisoners at the Front," and Eastman Johnson's "Old Kentucky Home" were virile, honest, and American.

In social relations, a new department at the Paris exhibition of 1867, the American standard of living was reflected in both the model Illinois farm and in the Illinois rural school, which, according to Commissioner Beckwith, attracted more interest than anything else. A grand prize was awarded Chapin's Pacific Mills of Lawrence for the "beneficent effects" on the operatives of the superior plan, organization, and management of the plant.⁷⁰ More than half the American exhibitors carried off awards from the international juries.⁷¹

On the lighter side, many Europeans first experienced in Paris another aspect of American civilization in the popular restaurant where enterprising New World chefs and bartenders vended cocktails, egg-nogs, smashes, eye-openers, corpse revivers, and moustache twisters, as well as porterhouse steaks, green corn, stewed oysters, terrapin, succotash, and prairie chicken!⁷² All in all, Americans were justified in feeling that, however short their performance may have been, it had made Europe aware of the United States as it had never been before.

The American part in the Vienna exhibition of 1873 did less credit to the country. It is true that the exhibit of an American school, with its maps, charts, textbooks, and other equipment, helped dispel the prevailingly critical European view of American education.⁷³ In all, 144 exhibitors won awards, ten receiving the Order of Franz Joseph. American machinery was again

⁶⁹ John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (New York, 1909-13, 5 vols.), III, 269.

⁷⁰ *Exposition universelle de Paris en 1867: Documents et rapports de la Belgique*, IV, 599; Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867* (Philadelphia, 1868), p. 265; *Reports of the United States Commissioners: General Survey*, pp. 27, 38; *L'Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris: Rapports du jury international*, XIII, *passim*; "Report of James M. Usher," pp. 33-35. For the impressions created by the display of the commissioner of the General Land Office see John M. Forney, *Letters from Europe* (Philadelphia, 1867), p. 133.

⁷¹ Beckwith to Seward, July 2, 1867, "Paris Exposition of 1867," Department of State Archives; *General Survey of the Paris Universal Exhibition*, pp. 8-9.

⁷² George August Sala, *Notes and Sketches of the Paris Exhibition* (London, 1868), pp. 372 ff.

⁷³ *Reports of the Commissioners of the United States: Report on Education* (Washington, 1876), p. 10.

praised. The official report of the American commissioners maintained that there was practically no machinery in the whole exhibition that was not well known in the United States and that American practices had obviously been widely copied by Europeans.⁷⁴ The commissioners attributed American superiority to our patent system and our superior technical education. But when all was said and done, the American exhibits were disappointing. Charles Francis Adams was perhaps exaggerating when he compared them with the Worcester County Fair. But he was making no overstatement in writing that "the American department was the least creditable part of the Exposition" if "the civilization, the wealth, the standing, and above all the pride of the country which contributed it" were taken into account.⁷⁵

This poor showing was in part the result of what Adams, who represented Massachusetts at the exhibition, described as complete mismanagement from the very beginning. The principal commissioner, General Thomas Van Buren, a New Jersey Republican politician, was charged by the American minister to Austria-Hungary, John Jay, with selling commissions for as much as \$6,000; with engaging in corruption in connection with the construction of an American building; and with making a questionable deal with a New York liquor outfit by which quantities of liquor were sent, nominally to be exhibited (without customs duty) but actually to be sold at the American bar!⁷⁶ The press, both in the United States and Europe, publicized the scandals; and Secretary of State Fish instructed Jay to conduct hearings at the legation, to dismiss the existing commissioners, and to appoint temporary ones until new personnel arrived.⁷⁷ While Van Buren insisted that nothing was proved,⁷⁸ informed opinion took a different view. Charles Francis Adams wrote that "the condition of affairs in the American department was disgraceful, ludicrous, and mortifying."⁷⁹ In London the *Anglo-American Times* laid the blame at the door of the administration, with its bent for expediency, favoritism, and corruption.⁸⁰ Bayard Taylor, reporting events for

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Charles Francis Adams, Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts, *Report on the Vienna Exhibition* (Boston, 1874), p. 15. For comments of the French commissioners on the American exhibits see *Exposition universelle de Vienne en 1873* (Paris, 1874, 5 vols.), *passim*.

⁷⁶ "Special Commission to Supervise the Commission to Vienna," Department of State Archives, Part II, pp. 58 ff.; Letters to the United States Commissioners, Van Buren to Theodore Roosevelt, Apr. 26, 1873, Department of State Archives; New York *Herald*, Apr. 20, 1873.

⁷⁷ Secretary of State Fish to Minister John Jay, telegram, Washington, Apr. 21, 1873, Department of State Archives; "Special Commission to Supervise the Commission to Vienna," *passim*.

⁷⁸ *Analysis of the Evidence and Reports on the Vienna Scandal: Letter from General T. B. Van Buren to the Secretary of State* (Hackensack, N. J., 1874), *passim*. Van Buren was appointed consul to Yokohama, where he was charged with corruption, drunkenness, and inefficiency. See Van Buren's appointment papers, Department of State Archives.

⁷⁹ Adams, *Report on the Vienna Exhibition*, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁰ *Anglo-American Times*, Apr. 11, 1874.

New York newspapers, wrote that the "burning disgrace" of American bribery had made the country the laughing stock of the whole world.⁸¹

At succeeding overseas exhibitions America came off badly in some and creditably in others. At Adelaide (1887) and at Barcelona (1888) the American exhibits were admittedly inferior.⁸² The Americans met with only indifferent success at the Brussels international exhibition of 1888.⁸³ On the other hand our part in other exhibitions was more or less creditable. Thus in 1878 at Paris 853 of the 1,200 American exhibitors received awards, twenty of which were Legion of Honor decorations. This was a larger proportion of awards than any other foreign country received.⁸⁴ With 339 exhibits at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888, the Americans received 214 awards, of which 110 were of the first order of merit.⁸⁵ In 1889 at Paris, Americans carried away 53 grand prizes, 198 gold medals, 266 silver medals, 233 bronze medals, and 233 honorable mentions. Despite the high praise the American exhibit received from the president and ministers of the French Republic,⁸⁶ Chauncey Depew expressed the feelings of many Americans when he observed that he entered the grounds with the Stars and Stripes flying and came out with the flag in his pocket.⁸⁷

The American record may be considered under the leading categories into which our exhibits fell—natural resources, technology, and cultural activities. We shall see that the reactions of other countries to our participation reflected the increasing prestige of American economy and culture.⁸⁸

The agricultural exhibits of the United States attracted favorable attention at several exhibitions: but at Paris in 1889 they were recognized as inferior to none. The French official report held that American superiority

⁸¹ Clippings from *New York Herald* and *New York Tribune*, no date, "Vienna Exhibition," Department of State Archives.

⁸² James M. Morgan to Assistant Secretary of State Porter, Melbourne, July 1, 1887, Department of State Archives; *House Exec. Doc. No. 27*, 50 Cong., 1 sess.; George H. Schenk to Assistant Secretary of State Rives, Barcelona, May 24 and Aug. 24, 1888, Department of State Archives.

⁸³ *House Exec. Doc. No. 165*, 50 Cong., 1 sess.; *Congressional Record*, XIX, 50 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2795 (Apr. 9, 1888); *United States Statutes at Large*, XXV, 50 Cong., p. 622; William Slade to Assistant Secretary of State Rives, Brussels, Nov. 14, 1888, Department of State Archives.

⁸⁴ Richard C. McCormick, "Our Success at Paris in 1878," *North American Review*, CXXXIX (July, 1879), 1-22.

⁸⁵ "Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition, 1888," Department of State Archives.

⁸⁶ *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris: Rapport* (Paris, 1891, 10 vols.), III, 323.

⁸⁷ Theodore Stanton, "The International Exhibition of 1900," *Century Magazine*, LI (December, 1895), 317.

⁸⁸ John Robinson Thitley, a Yorkshireman with American business connections, initiated a series of American exhibitions at Earl's Court, London, in 1887, on the ground that Europe "already looks to the United States as the vanguard in the march of both material and moral progress." See Richard Heindel, *The American Impact on Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 182-83. There are extracts from comments on the English press on the Earl's Court exhibition in *The American Exhibition* (London, 1886).

rested not only on a vast territory and soil fertility but also on improved means of communication and on the institutions Americans had created in the interest of agriculture.⁸⁹ A leading German economist concluded that in the development of technical "know-how," an important factor in the competition for world markets, the Americans had an edge on Europe, and could be expected in the future to be a formidable rival.⁹⁰ Nor was American prestige less enviable in the two specialized fisheries exhibitions at Berlin (1880) and at London (1883). The United States took part in the first only by reason of the urgings of the German government and the pressure of our minister in Berlin, Andrew D. White. "It was generally admitted," wrote White in reporting the results, "that the display of the United States was by far the largest and most comprehensive in the Exhibition, and the congratulations on all sides were a pleasing proof that our success has been received in the best and fairest spirit."⁹¹ In urging an even larger appropriation for the London International Fisheries Exhibition three years later, congressmen argued that our exports in fish and fish products had greatly increased as a result of our success at Berlin and that American scientific prestige in this field had been greatly enhanced.⁹² At London as at Berlin, Baird and Goode, the government's scientific experts in fish and fisheries, carried off honors, as did the private American exhibitors. The models, maps, and charts showing fishing grounds; the display of the principal fishes; the specimens of gear and apparatus; the exhibit of the uses of fish and of water products; and the exhibit indicating the economic status of American fishermen, all took honors and awards.⁹³

But the mounting reputation of America in technology was even more striking than it was in agriculture and in fisheries. In greater degree than in previous exhibitions, American consumers' goods at the Paris show of 1878 reflected sensitiveness to design, color, and craftsmanship. This was notably true of silverware, watches, photographs, and textiles. But in machinery the Americans truly excelled. Despite obvious evidence that our competitors had copied many original aspects of our machines, there were no real rivals of the Wheelock engine, which supplied power for all American machines,

⁸⁹ *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, VIII, 414; *Commissariat General des États Unis d'Amérique à l'Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris* (Paris, 1890); *Rapports sur la production agricoles* (Paris, 1890), *passim*.

⁹⁰ Max Sering, *Die Landwirtschaftliche Konkurrenz Nordamerikas* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 716.

⁹¹ Andrew D. White to Secretary of State William M. Evarts, Berlin, Jan. 5, 12, 28, Feb. 18, June 22, 1880, Department of State Archives.

⁹² *House Report No. 1413*, 47 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1-2; *Congressional Record*, XIII, 47 Cong., 1 sess., June 19, 1882, Appendix, pp. 400-402.

⁹³ James Russell Lowell to Secretary of State Frelinghuysen, London, May 19, 1883, Department of State Archives.

of the Stow flexible shaft, which the London *Times* singled out as the last word in Yankee ingenuity, of the display of the American Society of Engineers, the wood-working machinery of J. A. Fay and Company, and the Edison phonographs and telephones.⁹⁴ The English artisans visiting the American department reported that in the machine tool section "the amount of novelty was inconceivable."⁹⁵ The technique of making interchangeable parts by rule and gauge was now admiringly described as the "American system." And as at earlier exhibitions, American agricultural machinery was admittedly unique.

The number of awards in all classes excited surprise and no little jealousy. Several British journals attributed American success to "Yankee management."⁹⁶ But it was also true, as the American minister to France reported, that "the American exhibit and its management have been very highly commended here by all classes, and by the representatives of all nations."⁹⁷ The director of the French section of the exhibition declared, "We are not astonished at all by your brilliant success." It was an inevitable result, he continued, of the spirit of freedom, self-help, labor, and popular education. The French director of foreign sections, sharing the wish of his colleague that France might emulate the United States, paid a high tribute to the Americans: "Your vigor, born of yesterday, will be so strong tomorrow that you will be able to aid the world by the benefits of commercial liberty, as you have won its admiration by the liberality of your institutions."⁹⁸ Although Richard McCormick, commissioner general, felt that the American exhibit fell short of what might have been done and that it failed to give Europeans a correct idea of our country, he believed that, judged by the exhibits of other nations and by those we ourselves had sent to earlier exhibitions, "the success of our exhibitors at Paris was positive, substantial, and remarkable."⁹⁹

Despite the distance and the many difficulties involved, the United States was fairly well represented at the Melbourne exhibitions of 1880 and 1888. In 1880 the first order of merit was given to our watches, school furniture, and

⁹⁴ Clovis Lamarre and René de la Blanchère, *Les États Unis et l'Exposition de 1878 à Paris* (Paris, 1878), *passim*; *Lippincott's Magazine*, XXII (December, 1878), 755-70; *Appleton's Journal*, XX (July, 1878), 66-72; *Atlantic Monthly*, XLII (November, 1878), 585-96; Henry Morford, *Paris and Half of Europe in 1878* (New York, 1879), pp. 15, 67; *London Times*, Aug. 22, 1878.

⁹⁵ *Nature*, XXII (Feb. 26, 1880), 398.

⁹⁶ *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878* (Washington, 1880, 5 vols.), I, 28, 34-35; McCormick in *North American Rev.*, CXXIX, 1-22.

⁹⁷ Edward F. Noyes to Assistant Secretary of State Robert H. Hitt, Paris, Sept. 20, 1878, Department of State Archives. See also *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878*, I, 34-35.

⁹⁸ *Universal Exhibition of Paris, 1878: The Banquet to Richard C. McCormick, given in Paris, Nov. 26, 1878* (Paris, 1878), p. 6.

⁹⁹ McCormick in *North American Rev.*, CXXIX, 1.

machine tools, to agricultural implements, to railway and metallurgical exhibits, and other industrial products.¹⁰⁰ Thanks to an appropriation of \$50,000 the American court at the Melbourne exhibition of 1888, while not as large as many thought desirable, was nevertheless handsomely decorated and much admired.¹⁰¹ The Australian press praised the American typewriters, sewing machines, carriages, lamps, musical instruments and other products. One commissioner expressed the belief that the United States, being itself a new country, understood Australian wants better than any other nation. Australian officials were most flattering in their expressions of admiration not only of the American displays but of the institutions back of them. "The mission of Brother Jonathan," declared one in a speech at Victoria, is not to oppress the weak but rather "to stoop to the unfortunate, and uplift the poor and lowly." Australian leaders intimated their desire to have the closest possible commercial relations with the United States. The American commissioners, believing that Australia was not only an important market but that of all English-speaking peoples it was apt to be America's best friend, concluded that the decision to take part in the exhibitions had been fully justified.¹⁰²

We need only point out, in connection with the Paris exhibition of 1889, that the American technological exhibits, although overshadowed by our agricultural display, excelled those of many countries. In machine tools and other types of machines, and above all in electrical apparatus, the Americans came out unusually well.¹⁰³

It is clear from a study of the official reports of the various European countries that in the sphere of the fine arts Americans were regarded as definitely deficient. William W. Story, the American sculptor long resident in Italy, severely criticized the United States for its failure to support the arts and attributed our poor showing to this fact.¹⁰⁴ At the Paris exhibition of 1878, even so, the work of La Farge, Vedder, Coleman, Homer, Eastman

¹⁰⁰ *Official Record, Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880-1881* (Melbourne, 1882), p. 477. See also *State of Connecticut: Report of the Board of Commissioners of the Melbourne Exposition* (Hartford, 1883), p. 11.

¹⁰¹ James M. Morgan to Assistant Secretary of State Rives, Melbourne, Aug. 6, 1888, Department of State Archives.

¹⁰² *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Centennial International Exhibition at Melbourne* (Washington, 1889), pp. 129 ff.; Consul General James P. Lesesne to Assistant Secretary of State Rives, Feb. 19, 1889, Department of State Archives. The American exhibit at Barcelona (1888) ranked after those of France, Belgium, Italy, and Turkey and according to Consul George H. Schenk was "greatly inferior to what it should be in quantity and quality." Yet the Americans took twenty gold medals, twenty silver medals and fifteen bronzes. Schenk to Rives, Aug. 24, 1888, Barcelona Exhibition Scrapbook, New York Public Library.

¹⁰³ *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, p. 323; *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Universal Exposition of 1889 at Paris* (Washington, 1890-91, 5 vols.) I, 32.

¹⁰⁴ *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878*, II, 3-9, 109-111.

Johnson, and others warranted the conclusion that the American exhibit was equal to those of many countries and superior to those of some.¹⁰⁵ Europeans continued, however, to be disappointed that so much American art did not reflect the American soil; but they increasingly admitted, as time went on, that the Americans had achieved skill and competency.¹⁰⁶

The promising and arresting educational exhibits at Paris in 1867 and at Vienna in 1873 prepared Europeans for what was accomplished at Paris in 1878. Some two hundred contributions provided a satisfying picture of American education on every level, public and private. The exhibition, with its illustrations of educational buildings, furniture, fittings, appliances, with the 2,500 volumes of educational literature, including reports of city superintendents, state boards of education, regents, and trustees, and the 400 volumes containing specimens of the work of American school and college students, won merited praise in many circles. American superiority in textbooks was generally admitted. The international jury awarded the American educational exhibitors twenty-eight more honors than those of any country save France; and although the educational exhibits comprised only one one-hundredth of the American section, they took nearly one sixth of the prizes given American participants. Both Paris and London bid for the permanent possession of the American educational display.¹⁰⁷ The catalogue of the American book trade indicated that publishing was well represented; and the work of the American public library was brought to the attention of Europeans.¹⁰⁸ For the first time at any overseas exhibition it was clear that American cultural achievements could no longer be disregarded.

At the Paris exhibition of 1889 the educational exhibits from the United States were again excellent. An official from New South Wales commented favorably on the democratic and practical implications of American education, and spent some time in the United States observing commercial and technical schools.¹⁰⁹ At Melbourne, American school exhibits were given the first order of merit.

The growing prestige of America in scientific matters, evident in the

¹⁰⁵ *Scribners' Monthly*, XVII (December, 1878), 280-81; *Nation*, XXVII (Oct. 3, 1878), 210-11.

¹⁰⁶ *Report of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878*, I, 35.

¹⁰⁷ See M. Levasseur's review of the American educational exhibit in *La Revue pédagogique* (August, 1878); *Exhibition of Education, Paris Universal Exhibition, 1878* (London, 1878), pp. 8-9; John E. Bradley, *Report of the Legislature of New York on the Educational Exhibit of 1878*, New York Assembly Document No. 71, 1879 (Albany, 1879), pp. 7, 29-30.

¹⁰⁸ *Catalogue of the Collective Exhibit of the American Book Trade* (Paris, 1878), pp. xvi, 26; LaMarre and Blanchère, *passim*.

¹⁰⁹ Edward Combes, *Report on Technical Education and Manual Training at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889* (Sydney, 1891), pp. 53, 103, 105.

educational exhibits of technical schools, the Geological Survey, the Naval Observatory, the Bureau of Standards, and other government agencies and in our great success at the international fisheries exhibitions, was threatened by the initial lack of interest in the Columbian Historical Exhibition at Madrid in 1892 and 1893. In the end the American exhibits were successful testimonies to a high level of work in archaeology, anthropology, and history. The Hemmenway exhibit of some 5,000 objects of prehistoric New World anthropology excited much favorable comment. Creditable exhibits were sent to Madrid by the United States National Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, the University of Pennsylvania, the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, and other institutions. Both the Spanish government and European experts seemed pleased by the work of Professor G. Brown Goode, Daniel G. Brinton, and other Americanists.¹¹⁰

The two genuinely international exhibitions¹¹¹ held on American soil—the Centennial of 1876 at Philadelphia and the Columbian Exposition of 1893—can be considered here only in terms of their significance in affecting foreign impressions of American civilization. Strict constructionists and stout nationalists argued on the eve of the Centennial that Europe should not be invited to Philadelphia: it would be an insult to the Republic to have monarchs at the celebration of the nation's birthday.¹¹² But other arguments prevailed. It was hardly fitting, many maintained, to celebrate the centennial in splendid isolation in view of the contributions the Old World had made to the New; moreover, if Europe were not invited, it might well suspect we had something embarrassing to conceal.¹¹³ In addition, all the arguments—patriotic, sentimental, and economic—common in the discussions regarding participation in the exhibitions overseas were repeated.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *Report of the United States Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-1893* (Washington, 1895); Francis McNutt to Secretary of State John Foster, Madrid, Nov. 15, 1892, Department of State Archives.

¹¹¹ There were some foreign exhibits at the New York Exhibition of All Industries in 1853. See *Official Catalogue . . .* (New York, 1853), C. R. Goodrich, *Science and Mechanism Illustrated by Examples in the New York Exhibition* (New York, 1854); *Putnam's Magazine*, II (August, 1853), 843-44; *Harpers' New Monthly Magazine*, VII (November, 1853), 844 ff.; *Bericht der Association für die Ausstellung der Industrie-Erzeugnisse aller Nationen in New-York im Jahr 1853* (Stuttgart, 1853), *passim*.

¹¹² See, for example, the speeches of Thomas M. Norwood of Georgia in the Senate on Feb. 10, 1876, *Congressional Record*, IV, 44 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 996 ff. and the illustrations cited by Senator John P. Stockton in his speech of March 5, 1874, *The Centennial Bill* (Washington, 1874), p. 12.

¹¹³ See, for example, the speeches of Thomas L. Jones of Kentucky in the House on Jan. 20, 1876, of Richard McCormick of Arizona on May 6, 1874, and of John P. Stockton of New Jersey in the Senate on March 5, 1874, *Congressional Record*, II, 43 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1982-86, Appendix, p. 499; 44 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, pp. 2-4.

¹¹⁴ For example, A. A. Livermore, *The Centennial International Exhibition of 1876* (Meadville, Pa., 1875) and *Anglo-American Times*, Mar. 7, 1874.

Visitors from abroad were impressed by the show at Philadelphia even when they were critical. The commissioner from Victoria, in assessing the lessons to be learned and applied at home, emphasized the use of electricity in fire-alarms and in messenger service; bridges, locomotives, and agricultural machinery as well as metallurgical techniques. He was impressed by American insurance laws and by the practical character of American education.¹¹⁵ A Belgian civil engineer regarded the Corliss engine, the central feature in the machinery exhibit, as the symbol of American genius and was also much impressed by the agricultural as well as by the industrial production of the United States. At the same time he was critical of what seemed the American emphasis on the idea of "make money, honestly if you can, but make money."¹¹⁶ An analysis of the French commissioners' reports indicates that they were impressed by the technological power of the United States; by the promising development of chemical industries, in which Germany, of course, obviously led; by the imposing achievements in book printing, in the making of precision instruments, and in civil engineering. America possessed the power of invention in the highest degree, the French commissioners reported, and Europe must take stock.¹¹⁷ L. Simonin, a French visitor, concluded that America would more and more learn to dispense with Europe while Europe would learn that she could not dispense with the United States.¹¹⁸ The Swiss were concerned about the competition of American watches,¹¹⁹ and the British took stock of the mechanically skilled American artisan whose brains superintended every aspect of the industrial process.¹²⁰ Professor F. Reuleaux of the Royal Gewerbe-Akademie of Berlin detected in American consumers' goods not only an emphasis on comfort but also an awakened esthetic consciousness.¹²¹ Richard Wagner's specially composed piece designed to glorify and express the triumph of the United States, while regarded as a musical failure, nevertheless symbolized a changing attitude toward America.¹²² Perhaps the most significant proof of the new attitude

¹¹⁵ *International Exhibition at Philadelphia: Report of the Commissioners for Victoria* (Melbourne, 1877), pp. 9, 15, 35, 62, 84, 159, 200.

¹¹⁶ Paul Jean Marlin, *La Belgique et les États Unis* (Brussels, 1876), pp. 57, 102.

¹¹⁷ *Exposition internationale et universelle de Philadelphie* (Paris, 1878), pp. 61, 145 ff., 407, 439, 486, 512, 576.

¹¹⁸ L. Simonin, *A French View of the Grand International Exposition of 1876* (Philadelphia, 1877), pp. 19, 68 ff. For a contrasting French view see M. G. D. Molinari, *Lettres sur les États-Unis et le Canada* (Paris, 1876), pp. 34-60. Molinari was especially impressed by the emphasis placed on women's contributions to modern life.

¹¹⁹ Eduard Bally, *Ein freies Wort über die Weltausstellung in Philadelphia* (Aarau, 1876), pp. 3, 27.

¹²⁰ Francis A. Walker, *The World's Fair* (New York, 1878), pp. 67-68.

¹²¹ Joseph Thompson, *The United States as a Nation* (Boston, 1877), p. 243.

¹²² Joseph M. Rogers, "Lessons from the International Exhibitions," *Forum*, XXXII (November, 1901), 504.

toward the United States was the seriousness with which the American system of education was analyzed for the light it might throw on American achievements.¹²³ Although an occasional American thoughtfully asked whether the Americans were using their vast power wisely and well,¹²⁴ the predominant reaction to European evaluations of Philadelphia was one of rejoicing that America had at last come to have the respect if not the admiration of the world.¹²⁵

The progress of American economy and life that the Centennial revealed to foreign visitors was even more startlingly revealed in 1893 at the Chicago Columbian Exposition. The Europeans had belittled the architecture at Philadelphia. But at the midwestern metropolis they were impressed by the superb setting, the classical structures, and the promise of a new American architecture suggested by Louis Sullivan's Transportation Building. A study of the official reports of foreign commissioners reveals, to be sure, plenty of criticism.¹²⁶ But there was also a deep admiration for American technology and a widespread conviction that Europe had much to learn from American factory management, inventiveness, and organization, as well as from mass production, the extensive use of electricity in industry, and the short day and high pay of American workers.¹²⁷ The great importance attached to women in industry and the arts was a matter of comment;¹²⁸ and the absence of a building devoted to military exhibits suggested the advantages America enjoyed in her freedom from concern for security.

The congresses of the sciences, the social sciences, the arts, religion, and education further demonstrated the great strides American learning and scholarship had made. American education was coming to be appreciated as it had never been before.¹²⁹ We have yet to realize fully the impact of the learned congresses at Chicago on the intellectual and cultural life both of the United States and of the world. In any case, no one could deny the im-

¹²³ United States Bureau of Education, *Circulars of Information*, No. 5, 1879 (Washington, 1879), *passim*.

¹²⁴ Edward Atkinson in the *Centennial Eagle*, I (Aug. 29, 1876), 9.

¹²⁵ *Memorial to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives . . . presented by the Centennial Board of Finance* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 15.

¹²⁶ James Dredge, *A Record of the Transportation Exhibits at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893* (London, 1894), pp. xxii ff.

¹²⁷ F. Reuleaux, *Mitteilungen über die amerikanische Maschinen-Industrie . . .* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 85-86; *Ämtlicher Bericht über die Weltausstellung in Chicago 1893 erstattet von Reichskommissar* (Berlin, 1894, 2 vols.), *passim*; *Officieler Bericht der K. K. Österr.-Central-Commission für die Weltausstellung in Chicago im Jahre 1893* (Vienna, 1894, 4 vols.) II, 1 ff.; *Ministre du commerce, de l'industrie, des postes et des télégraphes: Exposition internationale de Chicago* (Paris, 1894), pp. 131-33.

¹²⁸ *Rapports sur l'Exposition internationale de Chicago en 1893*, III, 588 ff.; Dredge, p. xxxiii. See the *Illustrated World's Fair*, I, 27 ff. for further foreign comment.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, V (Oct. 25, 1893), 662.

pressiveness of the American achievements, not only in technology but in cultural matters as well.¹³⁰

In the forty years between the Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851 and the Columbian Exposition of 1893 European attitudes toward American civilization had profoundly changed. These changes must, of course, be attributed to many factors—to the Union's success in the Civil War, to increasing exports and growing competition in world markets, to the changing emphases in foreign travel books dealing with the United States, to cite but a few. However, among the factors that demonstrated to the rest of the world the emergence of a new and powerful America were the international exhibitions. These exhibits have a genuine importance that has not hitherto been appreciated. This study clearly shows that American technology, at least in certain fields, won European praise much earlier and more generally than has commonly been supposed. American participation in these grand displays also facilitated the adoption and modification by Europeans and Japanese of American technological innovations. It is not possible here to evaluate the influence of these exhibitions in attracting skilled artisans and unemployed capital to America and in promoting exports,¹³¹ though doubtless they contributed in some way to these objectives. American participation in the international exhibitions did something to break down American provincialism and helped to develop an American readiness to meet Europe's criticisms of America by showing what America was and what it could produce. In discussions on the advisability of American official participation and of governmental subsidies, all the arguments that involved America's reputation in the world community were canvassed. The final upshot was a victory for those who maintained that it was no longer sufficient for America to meet foreign criticism merely by verbal defenses, that it was no longer enough just to sit back and watch, but that now the time had come actively to advertise American power and greatness to the world.

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¹³⁰ This is supported by evidence in the *Report of the Committee on Awards of the World's Columbia Commission* (Washington, 1901, 2 vols.), I, 409, 419 ff.

¹³¹ Worthington C. Ford, chief of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department, compiled data that, in the opinion of Ferdinand W. Peck, chief commissioner of the United States at the Paris exhibition of 1900 proved "conclusively that the international expositions in which the United States has been interested have had an important and direct effect in increasing its exports." *North American Review*, CLXVIII (January, 1899), 27.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Disaster at Cadmos Mountain on the Second Crusade

CURTIS H. WALKER

MYTHICAL interpretations of historical events die hard. The story that Eleanor of Aquitaine, on the Second Crusade when the army was crossing Cadmos Mountain, brought on a crushing disaster by forcing the leaders of the vanguard to disobey King Louis' orders is a case in point. The story made its appearance in print five hundred years after the battle and still has vitality.¹

That careful historian Bishop Stubbs, though he does not mention Cadmos, seems to have been infected by the traditional interpretations of the disaster when he wrote, "Fifty years before this, she [Eleanor] had gone on crusade, and by her undisguised flirtations had spread confusion and dismay and discord in the noblest host that ever went to the East."² Thirty years later, early in the twentieth century, the Cadmos myth is repeated in the well-documented work of the French historian Alfred Richard, archivist of the Department of the Vienne, whose account I shall analyze below.³ Finally, in 1936, the story is given renewed life by J. Salvini in his article on Eleanor in the authoritative dictionary of French biography; he says: "*Aliénor fut probablement, par sa légèreté, cause de la première défaite de l'armée royale un peu delà de Laodécée.*"⁴

My purpose is to make clear, in the first place, that Eleanor of Aquitaine, so far as the record shows, had no responsibility for the debacle at Cadmos Mountain; and, in the second place, that, while serious losses were inflicted on the army in that disaster, the bulk of the fighting force came through intact but later, on the trying march to the seaport of Adalia and during the prolonged encampment outside its walls, was reduced by hunger, disease, and enslavement both by Greeks and Turks almost to the vanishing point.

Cadmos Mountain, about twenty-five miles from Laodicea in Phrygia,

¹ Bernard Kugler has traced it to the French historian Maimbourg, who wrote about the middle of the seventeenth century: *Studien zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzuges* (Stuttgart, 1866), p. 170, n. 76.

² Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale*, II (1873), xxix, n. 1.

³ *Histoire des comtes de Poitou* (Paris, 1903).

⁴ *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1936), II, 2.

was a huge eminence whose top, to those approaching from the west, seemed to tower to the sky, while its shelving, rock-strewn side sloped down precipitously to a gorge which seemed to reach to hell. At the bottom of the gorge foamed a torrent, and on its other side rose another mountain. The stream and the opposing mountain were on the left of the road which climbed gradually up and over the shoulder of Cadmos until it reached the summit. Here the ground leveled off somewhat before the road began leading downward toward the foothills, where open, level spaces made their appearance here and there.

There are two accounts upon which the story of the disaster at Cadmos primarily rests: one is by an eyewitness and was written down a month or so after the event; the other was written more than thirty years later. The eyewitness account was by a monk named Odo de Deuil, who, as chaplain and confessor, accompanied the French king, Louis VII, from beginning to end of the crusade. The other account is that of William, archbishop of Tyre, whose chronicle entitled *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* is considered the best general account of crusading affairs up to 1184. The accounts of the Cadmos disaster given by these two writers agree in the main but differ in one or two significant details. I shall give first the story as related by Odo and then indicate the points at which William's account differs from that of the chaplain.⁵

According to Odo, the crusaders had left Laodicea the day before the disaster, made a day's march, and camped for the night. Before retiring, arrangements for the next day's march were agreed on. They determined to proceed to the beginning of the pass at the foot of the mountain, camp for the night, and take a whole day for the crossing, since they knew it would be difficult and also feared that the Turks might attack them, as they had been seen that day paralleling the crusaders' march on the left. King Louis further expressly ordered that they should not camp on the mountain. Two leaders for the next day, as was customary, had been chosen. These two men were Geoffrey de Rancon, an Aquitainian noble, and the count de Maurienne, the king's uncle.

Accordingly, on the following day, Geoffrey and the count de Maurienne led the column, followed by the bulk of the fighting men, including a strong force of Templars as well as a large body of the king's paid men-at-arms. Next came the foot soldiers and after them a long string of pack animals and baggage carts. Then came the great mass of pilgrims, both men

⁵ Odo's account is given in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, CLXXXV, Pt. 2, col. 1236-37; François P. G. Guizot, ed., *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1823-35), XXIV. William of Tyre's account is given in Migne, CCI, 670 ff.; Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* (New York, 1943), II, 180 ff.

and women, trudging along on foot. Last of all rode King Louis in command of the rear guard, composed of forty of the most distinguished nobles in the army.⁶

The front of the long column reached the foot of the pass about noon, much sooner than had been anticipated. The leaders decided that it would be foolish to waste so much of the day and so, in disregard of orders, began the ascent. Geoffrey and the count were encouraged, in making this decision, by the Turks' failure to appear; but the enemy, as it happened, were lying in ambush on the other side of the gorge. The horsemen, after reaching the summit, proceeded some miles farther until they reached a suitable spot where they began to have the tents pitched. In their continued march the leaders had been followed by all the fighters who, being mounted, had drawn away from the baggage train, the foot soldiers, and the rest, leaving a great gap in the column.

This gap between the knights and their slower-moving followers was occasioned not merely by the greater speed of the horsemen but by a block which had occurred soon after the head of the baggage train reached the more level ground at the top of the mountain. Here the drivers of the foremost animals paused, presumably to rest their beasts after the hard climb. Also they hesitated to move on since the knights whom they had been following, had disappeared from view. So they remained, as Odo says, standing stock still rather than advancing.

The halt was fatal, whatever the reasons for it. Those behind kept pressing forward, forming an increasing jam around which others tried to pass and fanning out on the steep slope. In the process, men and animals lost their footing, carts tumbled over, and all rolled down to the bottom of the gorge. Boulders were dislodged and plunged downward, adding to the death and destruction. The Turks emerged from their hiding places to shoot arrows at men struggling to maintain their foothold, then to swarm across to the opposite side and engage in hand-to-hand fighting. The uproar finally reached the ears of the king, who led his men to the rescue as fast as the rough ground would permit. Before doing so, however, he dispatched Odo on his mule to inform the vanguard of what was going on. The courageous monk succeeded in traversing the whole line of march and reaching the vanguard in safety.

Meanwhile the attack of the king and his companions diverted the attention of the enemy from the others to themselves. The little band of forty

⁶ That this was approximately the order of march appears from details scattered through Odo's account.

knights was submerged by waves of attackers and all killed. King Louis alone escaped and made his way on foot to safety.

There were angry demands that night throughout the army for the hanging of Geoffrey de Rancon, and a council was held in the morning to debate what punishment should be meted out to him. It was pointed out, however, that the count de Maurienne was equally responsible with Geoffrey and that if one was to be hung, so must the other. Since the hanging of the king's uncle was out of the question, however, the idea was given up.

William of Tyre's account, less vivid and detailed, differs at a number of points from Odo's. He mentions only one as having been chosen as leader, namely Geoffrey, and says nothing about the king's uncle. The king's orders were, according to Odo, that a halt should be called when the foot of the mountain was reached; that they were to take a whole day for the crossing; and that they were not to camp on the mountain. William says, on the other hand, that they were to camp on the heights and that the disobedience consisted in *not* camping on the summit but in pushing farther on. It is at this point that Eleanor is projected into the picture by the romantic versions which represent her as riding at the head of the column along with Geoffrey and insisting that they march on to a more attractive location. So the blame for the disaster has been shifted from Geoffrey's shoulders to hers, in complete defiance of both sources, since neither Odo nor William mentions her at all in their accounts of the disaster.

Why historians should ever have done this would be hard to explain unless one understands the conception of Eleanor's character which had been developed for centuries by minstrel, balladmonger, and various biographers of Eleanor.⁷ In general she had been represented as taking the crusading expedition in a holiday spirit. One story, for example, is that she imitated Penthesilea and her Amazon warriors by donning men's attire, causing her female companions to do likewise, and trotting gaily along over some of the roughest terrain imaginable. It was not difficult for writers who held such a conception of the queen to imagine her capriciously interfering with military orders to satisfy her own whims. Nor is it strange to find an untrained writer like the late Melrich V. Rosenberg including these fantastic elements in his *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen of the Troubadours and of the Courts of Love* (Boston, 1937). But it is astonishing that such a well-trained scholar as Alfred Richard should include some of this material.

Richard devotes almost the whole of his second volume of five hundred pages to an account of Eleanor's life, the best that has ever appeared. Yet

⁷ For a nearly complete list of these biographers, see Salvini, "Aliénor d'Aquitaine," *Dict. biog. française*, II, 6.

he was unable to free himself from the traditional prepossessions about Eleanor and includes, among other things, the story of her supposed interference at Cadmos. I translate it as follows (the italics are mine):

. . . the army in order to secure supplies had been compelled to divide itself into several divisions. One of these was commanded by Geoffrey de Rancon *to whom the person of Eleanor had been especially entrusted*. It was the advanced guard. Forty-eight hours after the departure from Laodicea, they arrived at the foot of a steep mountain, upon the summit of which Geoffrey had received the order to camp and to await there the arrival of the king. The attendants were preparing to pitch the tents, when Eleanor, seeing a green valley which extended itself at the foot of mountain, wished to descend there. Geoffrey, indeed, attempted to resist, but was weak enough to yield to the wishes of the queen, and assuredly also to the pressure of his companions.⁸

Richard says that later, when the question of punishing Geoffrey with death was raised in council, Eleanor intervened to prevent his execution.

Richard, trained historian though he was, rejects Odo's eyewitness account, to follow William of Tyre's, blurred by the passage of a generation. Furthermore, he does not even follow closely William's account, which makes no mention of Eleanor at all. Also, it is incongruous, if not absurd, to imagine her riding at the head of the column, a most exposed position. Again, it is clear that Richard had before him Odo's account, since he relates the demand to punish Geoffrey with death, a fact stated by Odo but not mentioned by William.

The great bulk of the heavily armed horsemen—nobles, knights, and their followers—was not involved in the disaster at Cadmos. Large numbers of these, as well as of the foot soldiers and ordinary pilgrims, according to Odo, survived to undertake the long march to Adalia, on which the horses died in such numbers that quantities of baggage had to be burned. Among the numberless thousands who reached Adalia and were left to their fate when the leaders sailed away to Antioch, Odo mentions a force of six thousand of the strongest, composed both of mounted knights and foot soldiers, who tried to march on to Tarsus but were slaughtered by the Turks. Clearly, then, the failure of the Second Crusade must be ascribed not so much to the debacle at Cadmos as to the horrors that followed after.

At all events, whatever other follies may be charged to her account, we may at least acquit Eleanor of Aquitaine of any responsibility not only for the disaster at Cadmos but also for the final destruction of the mighty host of the Second Crusade.

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⁸ Richard, II, 92.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY: 1931-1940. Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 968. \$12.50.)

A NEW supplement of the "D.N.B." is as important as the decennial census, and much more readable. Invaluable as a work of reference, it would also, apart from its weight, be an ideal bedside book. The editor is to be warmly congratulated, not only on his catholic and comprehensive choice of subjects but on his happy choice of contributors. The historian will, no doubt, turn first to its biographies of men and women in British public life who died in the decade 1931-40, but if beguiled by the next entertaining entry among the 730 to that which he first looks up, he may find himself on a tour of several hours of the vast diversity of the British social scene. The longest biography is Sir Owen Morshead's of King George V, which contains the most important contributions in the volume to recent political history—especially on the king's part in the House of Lords controversy (1911), the Ulster crisis (1914), and the general strike of 1926. The best biography is probably Sir Henry Tizard's of Lord Rutherford, in effect a brilliant account of the development of nuclear physics and of the scientific method and scientific teamwork. Scientists, both those known to the laymen and those honored largely by their own fraternities, rather dominate the book; the life of Sir J. J. Thomson is a close second to that of Rutherford. Among the politicians, there are satisfactory lives of Sir Austen Chamberlain (by Sir Charles Petrie), Neville Chamberlain (by W. W. Hadley), Sir Edward Grey (by G. M. Trevelyan), Ramsay MacDonald (by Lord Elton); but in skill of portraiture these are excelled by Professor D. L. Savory's life of Sir Edward Carson, R. C. K. Ensor's of Philip Snowden, and Mrs. Hamilton's of Arthur Henderson, George Lansbury, and Robert Smillie.

Most of the leading men of letters who died during the decade of the thirties are finely commemorated by their peers, especially Arnold Bennett (by Frank Swinnerton), John Buchan, G. K. Chesterton (by Maisie Ward), Rudyard Kipling (by G. M. Young), T. E. Lawrence (by Sir Ronald Storrs), A. E. Housman (by Professor D. S. Robertson), George Moore (by Charles Morgan), Lytton Strachey (by Lord David Cecil), Sir Henry Newbolt (by Walter de la Mare), W. B. Yeats (by Joseph Hone, contributor of several Irish biographies). The lesser figures, such as Havelock Ellis, Cunninghame-Graham, F. S. Oliver, Edgar Wallace, Ethel M. Dell, H. W. Fowler, the lexicographer (whose life is by G. G. Coulton) are the subject of many delightful sketches; and who is not a little envious of Anthony Hope (Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins), to whom the story of *The Prisoner of Zenda* "unrolled itself" during an afternoon's walk from the Temple to West-

minster (he completed it within a month)? The composers fare as happily, especially Elgar, Delius, and Holst (the last by Ralph Vaughan Williams).

Admirals and generals, well known and less well known, abound in these pages. The biographies of Beatty and Jellicoe, Plumer and Sir William Robertson (this last by General Sir Frederick Maurice) are perhaps the most valuable. Churchmen include Bishop Gore, A. E. Edwards, the first archbishop of Wales, and "Dick" Sheppard. Among those concerned with education are Sir Henry Hadow and several notable women pioneers: Grace Hadow, Margaret McMillan, Dame Bertha Phillpotts, Mrs. Sidgwick. Of Ireland are Lady Gregory, T. M. Healey, Joseph Devlin, Sir Horace Plunkett, Sir James Craig (Lord Craigavon). Among many men connected with the empire are such varied figures as Sir Robert Borden, J. A. Lyons, Lord Delamere, Sir Hubert Murray of Papua, Lord Strickland of Malta, and Sir T. B. Tata. Business is sparsely represented, and the entries are often brief; the lives of the Phillips brothers (Lord St. Davids and Lord Kysant), Sir John Ellerman, Jesse Boot, Sir Henry Wellcome, Lord Inchcape, Sir Alfred Yarrow, Sir Henry Royce, Sir Thomas Lipton are among the best, but the palm among these must be awarded to the biography of Sir C. A. Parsons. English reviewers have already pointed out that the judges have fared best of all the subjects of this volume; their biographies, by fellow-craftsmen in the law, are instinct with life, pungent, thoughtful and witty. The best is that of Sir T. E. Scrutton ("possibly the only Englishman of his time who never shaved in his life") by Lord Justice MacKinnon, but those of A. T. Lawrence (Lord Trevethin), Lord Buckmaster, Lord Sumner, and Sir G. J. Talbot run it close.

Historians will note with pleasure that more than thirty of their gild are here commemorated: the best sketches are those of H. A. L. Fisher (by Gilbert Murray), Sir Charles Firth (by G. N. Clark), Eileen Power (by R. H. Tawney), and Sir Frederick Pollock. Others include G. E. Buckle, Maude Clarke, J. W. Fortescue, Kate Norgate, William Page (founder of the Victoria County History), and R. L. Poole.

There remains the host of the unclassifiable: C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*, Lord Rothermere, Emery Walker, the engraver and partner in the Kelmscott and Doves presses, Melba, Sir Bertram Mills, the circus promoter, J. A. Hobson, the economist, R. J. Mitchell, designer of the "Spitfire," T. J. Wise, the bibliographer and forger, Sir Henry Lunn, founder of the travel agency, and such an old English countryman as the eleventh duke of Bedford.

And this is typical of the volume and of English life in the first three or four decades of this century, which it mirrors. Two things stand out besides diversity. The first is the very strong representation of the professions. Liturgiologists, philosophers, chemists, mathematicians, papyrologists, classical scholars, botanists, zoologists, petrologists, archaeologists, antiquaries, artists, physicians, architects, actors, engineers, civil servants, and Romani scholars march past us, crowding out the oarsmen, cricketers, statesmen, and men of business.

And the second thing is that these are, almost without exception, the Victorians—heroic figures whose like, once the last of them has departed, we shall not see again for generations in our timid and overspecialized world. Their vigor is matched only by their versatility; and many of them have that special force of unique personality which we call “character.” The best success story is that of G. C. Druce, an illegitimate Northamptonshire boy who became a prosperous Oxford chemist (i.e. druggist) and an outstanding botanist. The record of diverse attainments of Canon J. M. Wilson and Sir Arnold Wilson, father and son, though not perhaps unique, is uncommon: the former (1836–1931) is described as “scholar, mathematician, astronomer, schoolmaster, divine, and antiquary”; the latter as “soldier, explorer, civil administrator, author, and politician.” With whom may be compared L. J. Rogers, the mathematician, who “cared much for particular problems in mathematics and their solution, just as he cared for individual species in his rock-garden: that is, if they were sufficiently beautiful. But a full *corpus* of mathematical theory interested him as little as botany after Linnaeus. He was probably better read as a musician than as a mathematician . . . [He was] a ready linguist and an engaging mimic, especially of broad Yorkshire. He was a first-class skater, an excellent knitter . . .”

University of California, Los Angeles

C. L. MOWAT

THE RENAISSANCE IN HISTORICAL THOUGHT: FIVE CENTURIES OF INTERPRETATION. By *Wallace K. Ferguson*, Professor of History, New York University. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1948. Pp. xiii, 429. \$5.00.)

FRIENDS and foes of the Burckhardtian period concept have taken it for granted that the idea of the Renaissance was essentially a nineteenth century creation, a latecomer when compared with the notions of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the modern epoch. One knows, of course, that Burckhardt in some measure brought to maturity ideas that had been developing in France (with Jules Michelet, in particular) and Germany (with Goethe and neoclassicism); and we have also learned from many recent studies that fifteenth and sixteenth century humanists were already thinking of their times as a period of “rebirth” in many fields of culture. But these inroads into the pre-Burckhardtian history of the Renaissance idea did not succeed in throwing light upon its core—the two centuries from 1600 to 1800. To the knowledge of this reviewer, no monograph has ever told what part, if any, the Renaissance played in the historical outlook of the founders of modern historiography in the eighteenth century. After a perusal of the first two hundred pages of the book under review no one will fail to recognize that the impression of a long stagnancy in the growth of the Renaissance concept before 1800 has merely been due to our ignorance of the facts.

Mr. Ferguson’s narrative begins with the Italian humanists’ idea of their own

period as expressed in their political historiography, a chapter pre-published in the *American Historical Review* as early as 1939 and now supplemented by an equally excellent section on the humanistic view of the history of literature and the arts. From there we pass to the nationalist-"patriotic" humanists and the Erasmians in the countries north of the Alps; to the contributions of Reformation and Counter-Reformation writers; to the "crystallization" of the early Renaissance idea with Vasari in Italy, Bayle in France, and Cellarius in Germany; to the mutually antagonistic, yet complementary ideas of the Enlightenment, romanticism, neo-classicism, nineteenth century liberalism, and the Hegelian school; and finally to Burckhardt and the post-Burckhardtian period. In most cases the emphasis is on the interpretation of the Italian Renaissance, but there are many sections in which light is also thrown on the growth of the concepts of a German, French, and English Renaissance and of the Renaissance as a phenomenon of European scope.

It cannot be expected from a pioneering work that this immense variety of topics should be explored with completeness and uniform perfection. But any inadequacies in particulars are far outweighed by the fact that in one sustained effort the gap of two entire centuries has been bridged, with the result that we receive the first coherent and genetic history of the concept of the Renaissance. Henceforth, when asked the crucial question as to the respective contributions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the modern idea of the Renaissance, we can reply with confidence that both Voltaire and Gibbon already held some of the most characteristic of the presumed Burckhardtian notions, even though after Burckhardt's masterful synthesis most of the earlier interpretations remained alive merely in the shape they were given in the context of his work. Furthermore, since Mr. Ferguson fits the analysis of every successive phase into the frame of the contemporary dominant historical philosophies (with the sketch of the historical principles of the Enlightenment especially notable for clarity and persuasion), his narrative forms a kind of history of modern historical thought "with the interpretation of the Renaissance used as the touchstone," as he himself defines his aim.

To this two-hundred-page history from the fifteenth century to Burckhardt Mr. Ferguson adds another section of equal length, which brings the account down to the present day—no longer in the form of a strictly chronological narrative, but as a balance-sheet setting down the gains and losses of Burckhardt's concepts in the hands of later scholars. First we are given a survey of such students as are said to have essentially preserved Burckhardt's "synthesis"; afterwards we pass to the several schools of thought which by their nature were bound to tear away parts from the Burckhardtian picture, either by increasing emphasis on the medieval roots of the modern nations or by discoveries of other aspects of the Middle Ages still unknown to Burckhardt. Many readers will regret this abandonment of a historical reconstruction in the full sense. Instead of effecting increased objectivity for theories whose implications still are *sub judice*, Mr. Ferguson has

avoided Charybdis only to drift into Scylla. Classification of every nineteenth and twentieth century interpretation as either Burckhardtian or the opposite produces the misleading impression that between Burckhardt and our time a "traditionalist" school and "revisionist" groups in "revolt" against the Burckhardtian tradition have led a relatively static coexistence—a terminology and historical perspective which, to my mind, are unfair to either side. Also, by first dealing with all alleged Burckhardt followers, and subsequently with the several groups of the presumed adversaries, we often hear of chronologically late interpretations before becoming acquainted with the theories to which they were meant to be an answer. As a result, in many cases we cannot see the inner sequence of thought, and even less the over-all progress of recent Renaissance research. At the end the author, though hopeful that time is ripe for a new successful "synthesis," states himself that so far the course of scholarship has been, "first of all, an object lesson in historical relativism" (p. 386). It seems to me that this impression is largely due to a method which, for the last phases, shies away from an evolutionary narrative and, consequently, has no room for showing the constant interchange between the various camps and for the ensuing clarification of the historical ideas.

Disagreement on this point of method and perspective, however, should not make us forget that it is thanks to Mr. Ferguson's tireless labors that we can today enter upon a controversy as to how to assess the harvest of the nineteenth and twentieth century development. His exposition of the progress made in the "Burckhardt school" under the refreshing influence of recent intellectual and social-economic history is, indeed, far superior to any earlier analysis; equally original is his description of the successive stages of the "revolt": how emphasis on the continuity of the national developments endangered the note of classicism inherent in Burckhardt's interpretation, and how the gradual discovery of the achievements of medieval mysticism, scholasticism, and early natural science had similar effects. In the final balance we may say that Mr. Ferguson's magnum opus, which gives us the first satisfactory picture of the growth of the Renaissance concept in early modern historiography, also resets the stage for the further consideration of where we stand and whither we are bound in interpreting the Renaissance.

Newberry Library

HANS BARON

TROIS ESSAIS SUR HISTOIRE ET CULTURE. By *Charles Morazé*. [Cahiers des *Annales*, II.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1948. Pp. viii, 62.)

APOLOGIE POUR L'HISTOIRE, OU MÉTIER D'HISTORIEN. By *Marc Bloch*. [Cahiers des *Annales*, III.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. xvii, 110.)

THE two issues of the "Cahiers des *Annales*," published with an illuminating introduction by Lucien Febvre, eminent economic historian, contain essays that will challenge historians everywhere. The unfinished essay of Marc Bloch should be translated for those who do not read French. There has been far less self-examina-

tion by French historians than by American. (Witness programs of the American Historical Association, and a few major articles: *American Historical Review*, July and October, 1948, *Journal of Modern History*, March, 1949, and Social Science Research Council, *Bulletin* 54, 1946). History has continued to receive recognition in Europe as the basic synthesis of human development but has been on the defensive for a score of years here. Both authors were impelled to re-examine the past, and to appraise the present role of history out of the crisis of World War II. Morazé was writing, however, in the postwar malaise, while Bloch was writing during the Nazi occupation of France. Morazé is a relatively young French scholar, but Marc Bloch, whose stature as a medievalist and economic historian was already recognized before the war and was enhanced by his martyrdom to Nazi tyranny, is already placed among the great historians of our century. The two "Cahiers" provide us with two most provocative analyses of history that American historians can little afford to overlook.

The first essay by Morazé, entitled "Des faits à l'homme," is a masterpiece of unified analysis, written in the best tradition of French prose. There is no excess verbiage, no waste illustration. By use of a single event—Jules Ferry's accession to the office of prime minister—Morazé presents the essentials of the historical process. He prefers emphasis upon a "sense of the concrete," to which he ascribes experience and universality, over myopic faith in historic "facts" which he considers unreal abstractions. Morazé analyzes with special cogency the concepts of economic and of psychological crisis, both of which aspects of man's development must be studied, and ends his first essay with the assertion that history is the whole life of man.

The second essay, "Du nombre à l'homme," presents a special challenge to American historians. Morazé suggests that statistics or arithmetic has assumed a new and undue importance in our age of democracy. History must resist the determinism of numbers and once again assume the role of the master synthesis—man as a whole. Time-honored concepts of liberty and equality are re-examined under the impact of contemporary implications. The third essay, which discusses the relation of history to other fields of learning, proceeds from the general to the particular and ends on the shortcomings of French education. Morazé cautions against cutting the stream of history into small parts as to time or place but does recognize the importance of geography—place—in relation to history as a whole. He would, however, reject geographic determinism as much as numerical. Morazé includes the challenge both of the natural sciences and of literature to the role of history.

The longer text by Marc Bloch represents four chapters of a contemplated seven, begun in 1942 during the Nazi occupation of France. Engaged with his wife in underground resistance to the Nazis, Bloch never had the opportunity to finish his projected work before his death at the hands of the Nazis in 1944. He wrote without notes or books for reference, which is high tribute to the universality of

his knowledge. Indeed, there is such a diversity of historical illustration that the reader without a fundamental knowledge of world history must read the text with slow concentration. The four chapters given here are entitled "History, Men and Time," "Historical Observation," "Critical Method," and "Historical Analysis." The quality of these four makes the more regrettable the breaking off of chapter v, "Historical Experience," and premature death which cut short the writing of the two projected chapters dealing with the problem of chance and determinism, and the problem of prediction.

In the text preserved for us, Bloch surveys the whole range of historical method and interpretation, and provides some implications for the unwritten themes. All students should be encouraged to read his analysis of documentary research and interpretation, given in chapter II. His intimate knowledge of medieval history provides the most cogent, though by no means the only, illustrations. Mature historians may not always agree with Bloch's point of view, which is often conveyed by a rhetorical question rather than an axiomatic statement. All those who relegate history to a study of the past should read Bloch's remarks on the relation of the past to the present. This part is not only an excellent refutation of the ignoring of the past by social scientists but also a criticism of the ivory tower historian who ignores the present. Bloch's essay should also be read for his refutation of the conventional periodization of history, and of an artificial attempt to distinguish numerical centuries. He defends history as a series of "civilizations." As the subtitle suggests, Bloch is defending but also examining the *métier* of historian.

Although the method, the scope, and the literary style of these two essays differ, both writers agree on several essential points: the importance of the continuity of history, enrichment of history by other intellectual disciplines, and a corresponding dependence of all other fields of intellectual endeavor, but especially of other social sciences, on history, the challenge of natural science and of the humanities resulting in a dual nature of history, a moral significance of history in its pursuit of truth or reality, but, above all, history as the supreme synthesis of man as a human being. Both authors have drawn inspiration from François Simiand, economic historian and philosopher, whose premature death has not prevented the spread of his historical philosophy to a whole school of French historians. Does it becloud the value of these two essays to say that their authors combine the values of Carl Becker, Arnold J. Toynbee, James Harvey Robinson, and Henry Johnson? The language may be French, but the thought is universal. The historian and future scholars should be grateful for the publication of these essays.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

THE ATLANTIC CIVILIZATION: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ORIGINS.

By *Michael Kraus*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1949. Pp. xi, 334. \$3.75.)

THE conception of an "Atlantic Civilization," while not exactly new, enjoys a certain timeliness because of the contemporary drift of events. Mr. Kraus explores the "origins" of such a civilization in the eighteenth century; he is aware that the origins go back as far as the age of discovery, but emphasizes the eighteenth century because it was at that time that European colonies in America became sufficiently mature to exert a powerful influence upon the thought and political life of Europe. The evidence he assembles to show the constant interchange and reciprocal impact between Europe and America is abundant, diverse, and convincing. The wealth of sources commands the reader's admiration, and the author clinches his points with innumerable concrete facts, such as that on the average over five ocean-going vessels reached New York and Philadelphia in 1788 every day, and that 117 Americans received the M.D. from Edinburgh before 1800. He ranges through all fields, in a succession of chapters dealing with communications, religion, book publishing, the arts, humanitarianism, science, and medicine, and closing with a forcible exposition of the place of the American Revolution in the democratic movement of the Western world. This last, it is worth noting, is nowadays freely admitted even by French specialists in the French Revolution, such as Philippe Sagnac and Georges Lefebvre.

Having said this much, gladly and gratefully, the reviewer finds a number of reflections occurring to him. The author, it seems, has not always avoided the common temptation of authorship to overstate the case. To say that all European nations experienced "linguistic changes" from contact with America (meaning that they adopted new words and expressions), or that the European increase of population in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was supported by the potato, or that Thomas Paine and Joel Barlow became "advisers" to the French revolutionaries, conveys in each case an impression that students of linguistics, demography, or the French Revolution may find overdrawn. These are indeed points of detail, mere passing expressions on matters of whose complexity the author is well aware; yet, to the reviewer, the book leaves a net impression of exaggeration of the American role. The author seems to regard eighteenth century America as a kind of equal pole, or other end of a seesaw, compared to Europe, within a total Atlantic complex. And granting the merits of men like Franklin, Rush, and Copley, the question still obtrudes whether America at the time was not after all basically a colony, though a brilliant one to be sure.

The reviewer would also have welcomed a little more analysis, pitched on a somewhat abstract level, of what the conception of an Atlantic civilization is to be taken to mean. It is not here altogether distinguished from older ideas of the expansion of Europe or of a Western type of civilization. The evidence used is overwhelmingly drawn from the thirteen colonies and Great Britain, so that at times the Atlantic civilization seems almost to dissolve into the old familiar British Empire or "Anglo-Saxon" world. The author has fought against this; there are many references to Latin America, the Caribbean and continental Europe, and works in

numerous languages are cited. The defect, if it is one, is purely the product of a virtue. It is because the author is so thorough in treating the English-speaking world that other areas, if only relatively, seem to be slighted. He could not possibly, in less than a lifetime, cover the entire Atlantic civilization with equal satisfaction to his own professional standards. It may follow, however, that a fully rounded and proportionate account of the Atlantic civilization would have to be presented either in three or five volumes of the intensiveness of this one, or, if in one volume, with less of a desire to exhaust the English-language sources. There is also, in the reviewer's judgment, and again because of the character of the materials and the thorough use made of them, some tendency to overplay the history of ideas. There are many sharp insights into other matters, such as the effects of the price revolution, or the contribution of the plantation economy and Negro slavery to the growth of wealth in Europe, or the influence on European governments of wars in which America was an issue; but again, if only relatively, these are obscured by the great emphasis on the exchange of conscious ideas.

Lastly, if there was really an Atlantic civilization in the eighteenth century (as distinguished from the old European civilization of which America was a part) one must ask what its eastward boundaries in continental Europe were. What was the non-Atlantic world, and how did it differ from the Atlantic? On this matter there are some interesting ideas in the third volume of Jacques Pirenne's new *Grands courants de l'histoire universelle*, where it is argued that western Europe became an "oceanic" civilization, while eastern Europe, after the sixteenth century, developed a society founded on peasant serfdom and a powerful landed aristocracy. Some account of such matters must be taken in any attempt to delineate a type of culture that can be meaningfully designated as "Atlantic." Again, to ask this of Mr. Kraus in this book would be absurd; it is perhaps for another book by Mr. Kraus that the reviewer is asking, especially since, in his preface, he observes that there is room for further studies in the field.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

A WORLD HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES. By Quincy Howe. Volume I, FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE 1918 ARMISTICE. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1949. Pp. xv, 695. \$5.00.)

THE first installment of a three-volume treatise on the first half of the twentieth century captures our attention from the start and holds it firmly to the end. Mr. Howe has lived through it all and he reproduces the throbbing actuality of great events. His task is facilitated by the three hundred carefully chosen illustrations of men and scenes. It was begun in 1944, and he hopes to complete it in 1952. Describing himself as a journalist, he writes in an easy flowing style, and the book can be enjoyed by any intelligent reader. Though mainly a political narrative the author, who appears to be interested in every aspect of life, advances on

a broad front, finding room for snapshots of Mrs. Eddy, Pierpont Morgan, Admiral Mahan, William James, Freud, Peary, Marconi, Diaghilev, and many other nonpolitical celebrities.

The book consists of three parts—the world of 1900, prewar, and World War I. All are excellent, but for a British reviewer the most instructive pages are those which describe the American scene, for here Mr. Howe speaks with most authority. His portraits of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, neither of them very flattering, are masterpieces; Taft, a smaller man but without their offensive egocentricity, is more to his taste. He never obtrudes his political convictions, but his ideology seems to be slightly to the left rather than slightly to the right of the central line. As an experienced journalist he knows how to pack a good deal of observation and criticism into a few lines. Here is a specimen: "Grey was a gentleman with a conscience. But it was his conscience that made him invaluable and unique. His ignorance inoculated him against doubt. His simplicity caused him to attribute his own high motives to others." And here is an incisive characterization of the ill-starred author of the Bosnian crisis: "Aehrenthal understood Russia's weaknesses better than he understood his own."

In a work of such wide scope some mistakes are unavoidable. Treitschke's name was Heinrich, not Hans; Cecil Rhodes was the son of an Anglican, not a Nonconformist, clergyman. The Salisbury government did not resign in 1900; it dissolved Parliament. Queen Victoria's refusal to allow her heir to see confidential papers did not last "to the end of her long life," but till Gladstone persuaded her to lift the ban when the prince of Wales was over fifty. Such things are trifles. But why does Mr. Howe speak of "the increasingly smug leadership that Gladstone had so long imposed on his fellow Liberals"? It was part of his greatness that he was learning and unlearning to the end. The description of George V as "a harmless, colorless individual who tried to hide some of his features behind a nondescript beard" hardly does justice to the modest and deeply conscientious ruler who left the British monarchy more respected and more popular than he found it. The reference to his wife, Princess May, as "a young lady more remarkable for her ambition than for her beauty" is so wide of the mark that it arouses blank astonishment. Yet it says much for the general fairness of the author that this is the only passage which strikes an English reviewer as unworthy of an excellent and instructive book.

Chalfont St. Peter, England

G. P. GOOCH

DAS BRIEFWERK VON LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Eingeleitet und herausgegeben von *Walther Peter Fuchs*. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag. 1949. Pp. lvi, 642. DM. 24,50.)

NEUE BRIEFE VON LEOPOLD VON RANKE. Gesammelt und bearbeitet von *Bernhard Hoefst*. Herausgegeben von *Hans Herzfeld*. (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag. 1949. Pp. xxxii, 778. DM. 28,50.)

It has become a curse of Ranke's work that it tends to be more quoted than studied and that its classic qualities are often wholly drowned by a stereotyped pre-occupation among historians with a few clichés borrowed from it out of context. In Germany it was Treitschke, himself learned but prejudiced, who was one of the main critics of Ranke's "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" and who influenced the condescending attitude toward Ranke on the part of future generations of lesser German historians. In this country Charles Beard has contributed not a little to a misrepresentation of Ranke's thought.

These two volumes of Ranke's letters should contribute toward a better understanding of the German historian. Not only might they serve as an introduction to a study of Ranke, to a new assessment of his achievement, but also to a reappraisal of Ranke's work in the light of modern historiographical problems. Since Ranke's letters were edited by his pupil Alfred Dove in 1890 and incorporated into Volumes LIII–LIV of the *Sämmtliche Werke*, more than fifty other publications containing new Ranke letters have appeared. Professor Fuchs of Heidelberg in his volume *Das Briefwerk* has admirably succeeded in selecting from this wealth of material the more important letters and in thus making the core of Ranke's hitherto known correspondence available. Ranke's letters to his family, to German royalty—in particular to Maximilian II of Bavaria—to friends like General Edwin von Manteuffel and to fellow historians are made to serve as indispensable commentaries on the period extending roughly from the days of Napoleon I to the era of Bismarck, and, of course, as keys to Ranke's historical work. A complete listing of all previously published Ranke letters is included in this volume (pp. 601 ff.). The second volume, *Neue Briefe*, contains a surprising number of newly discovered, as yet unpublished, Ranke letters, a result of the late Bernhard Hoelt's investigations. Once more the communications to Manteuffel figure among the most interesting ones.

The tiresome "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" finds here, in the informality of Ranke's letter style, its corrective. Friedrich Meinecke and Ernst Cassirer have in recent years pointed toward the superficiality of a narrow and literal interpretation of this most abused dictum of Ranke's. Indeed only the historian concerned with documentary sources, we find, is in a position to see their very limitations, to find in them, as Ranke did, "only a faint reflex of life" (*Briefwerk*, p. 518). Ranke has too often been stamped as the historian of objectivity. But by stating the need for objectivity Ranke also raised the problem of subjectivity in history. By subjectivity we do not mean Treitschke's political bias but a philosophical awareness that full objectivity cannot be found and that, as Ranke wrote to King Maximilian II, "the subjective element introduces itself as a matter of course" (*ibid.*, p. 432). In other words, the letters reveal Ranke as also the historian of subjectivity. He doubted the facts for which he searched. He was already very much concerned with the problem of relativism in history, with the need for the creative, rather than the photographic, historian. Could we not conclude that the problems of

modern historiography, that is, of modern relativism in history, are but "footnotes to Ranke"?

In another connection Ranke's letters reveal a historical approach of eminently contemporary interest. Ranke wrote to Manteuffel: "You know that I am concerned not with the history of France or England, but with general European history, with universal history" (*Neue Briefe*, p. 443). This statement then offers a commentary to Ranke's many-sided interests. Ranke subscribed to the formula "diversity and unity"; like Toynbee today—but without the help of *Life* and *Time*—he saw in the civilization the proper unit of historical research.

For the state of historiography in western Germany the introductions by Professors Fuchs and Herzfeld are of particular interest. Both form part of the present movement, led by Friedrich Meinecke and Gerhard Ritter, toward a "revision" of German history. The departure from a one-sided nationalistic approach is indeed a prime responsibility of the modern German historian. For that task he will find some support in Ranke's work. Ranke was not a nationalist. But should this fact be justification enough to acquit the German past of the charge of nationalism and in turn to root all the evils of modern nationalism in the French Revolution? (Cf. *Briefwerk*, p. liii, *Neue Briefe*, pp. xxiv f.). Does not this procedure mean using Lucifer to exorcise Beelzebub? Furthermore Ranke explicitly rejected the theory that the end justifies the means. Thus we can conclude with Fuchs and Herzfeld that Ranke was not a precursor of Bismarck (cf. *Briefwerk*, p. lv, *Neue Briefe*, p. xxiii). But then, we must ask, why did Ranke condone Bismarck's unification? Was he right in admitting to the chancellor that "the historian can never be a politician at the same time" (*Briefwerk*, p. 546)? After all, Ranke might have learned to the contrary from his friends in France and England, from Thiers and Lord Acton. What are the responsibilities of the historian toward society? Did Ranke have to write to Bismarck in 1877, "The historian has much to learn from you" (*ibid.*, pp. 546 f.)? A revision of German history cannot be complete so long as such questions are dodged. We do not propose to moralize; but we feel that only honesty, uncompromising honesty on the part of the historian, can raise him above the past.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

A SHORT HISTORY OF SCIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT: WITH READINGS FROM THE GREAT SCIENTISTS FROM THE BABYLONIANS TO EINSTEIN. By *F. Sherwood Taylor*, Curator of the Museum of History of Science at Oxford. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1949. Pp. 368. \$5.00.)

THE author of this short survey of the history of science is well known for numerous articles and works on the history of science, particularly on the history of chemistry. This volume is a revision of an earlier effort on Mr. Taylor's part to

sketch the highlights in the development of modern science. For pedagogical purposes, it is considerably superior to the other single volume surveys available to the American reader. It is enhanced by numerous illustrations including diagrams which make the reading text intelligible and photographs that bring the reader closer to the scientist. At the same time its usefulness is increased by the inclusion of readings selected from the works of the scientists themselves. These selected readings constitute about half the book.

To know more than superficially the whole development of science from its origins in Egypt and Mesopotamia to the latest developments in nuclear energy is virtually impossible for one man. Hence it is not surprising that in treating some subjects, for example medieval science, Mr. Taylor's account is woefully weak. Not only are the selected readings unrepresentative of high and late medieval science, but we look in vain in the text for some treatment of the remarkable works on statics associated with the name of Jordanus which are quite scientific in their spirit and show evidence of an early juncture of mathematical and experimental techniques. Nor do we find any reference to the highly original mathematical work of Leonardo Fibonacci. And even more serious, Mr. Taylor has omitted the discussion of kinematics and dynamics at Oxford and Paris in the fourteenth century and its spread to Italy, where it played a role in the coming revolution of mechanics of the seventeenth century. In short, we find only traditional statements about Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus, with some reference to the work of Peter Peregrine.

To understand a little more of how late medieval science emerges into modern science, the reader is urged to consult Herbert Butterfield's *Origins of Modern Science*, where science is treated against a rich historical background lacking in the work of Taylor or, for that matter, in other surveys, such as those of Singer, Dampier, and Sedgwick and Tyler. In all these surveys, including Taylor's, we want more of the historian, if not less of the scientist.

Mr. Taylor appears to have solved the very difficult problem of what to select for nineteenth and twentieth century science quite nicely. Noteworthy was his decision to discuss in the last two chapters the nature and function of science, after having summarized its history.

University of Wisconsin

MARSHALL CLAGETT

TO DWELL IN SAFETY: THE STORY OF JEWISH MIGRATION SINCE 1800. By *Mark Wischnitzer*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1948. Pp. xxv, 368. \$4.00.)

JEWISH SURVIVAL: ESSAYS AND STUDIES. By *Trude Weiss-Rosmarin*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. 404. \$4.00.)

THEODOR HERZL: THE JEW AND THE MAN. By *Oscar Benjamin Frankl*. (New York: Storm Publishers. 1949. Pp. 190. \$2.50.)

FOR 1900 years the history of the Jewish people has been a succession of forced migrations, almost standard in pattern and varying only in the degree and intensity of the persecution responsible. In his scholarly and thorough study, Dr. Wischnitzer offers a factual account of the mass population moves by Jews from 1800 until the present day, highlighting, as is to be expected, the great flight from tsarist Russia around the turn of the century, and more recently, the tragic evacuation of Europe by the scattered survivors of Hitler's terror.

The author is a historian, rather than a sociologist, and so, while he has marshaled the statistics and the dates and an imposing wealth of factual information on these mass migrations, he leaves to others the more fascinating subject of interpreting and evaluating the effects of such events upon Jews, as individuals and as a people. Nor must one overlook certain obvious reflections and observations upon the morality and conscience of a Christian world which, at the very least, witnessed these tragedies in silence.

Prior to World War I, and before more stringent immigration laws were passed, America was the haven and home for hundreds of thousands of the "huddled masses yearning to be free." Thereafter, particularly since the rise of Hitler, Palestine assumed the role of chief refuge, British obstructionism notwithstanding. Indeed, we learn that during the ten years of Nazi rule the little Holy Land absorbed more Jewish refugees—and thereby saved their lives, it should be added—than the rest of the world combined. This is an amazing record. During that period refugee aid organizations scanned every known area, literally from Alaska to Zanzibar, seeking for a hospitality and a welcome which the Jews at last found only among their own. One need not seek further if any explanation is required for the traditional longing, the tenacious consecration to purpose, the desperate courage which have gone into the making of the state of Israel.

That there has been more to Jewish life and Jewish desire for group survival than the mere yearning for physical security is indicated in the challenging and controversial volume by Dr. Rosmarin. The patient reader who can make allowance for many repetitions will find a brilliant exposition of Jewish philosophy from the traditional and orthodox point of view.

Perhaps of greatest interest to the general reader is the interpretation of several classical conceptions of the Jew. Dr. Rosmarin sharply challenges the Christian theological stereotype of the "Wandering Jew." Jewish homelessness has not been a curse but a blessing, she maintains. Scattered among the nations, Jews are serving a divine purpose in carrying the message of the Lord; theirs is a great and ennobling mission, and the failure of the world to heed the moral and ethical lessons of Judaeo-Christian teachings is no reflection upon their efforts. Even though in exile they have been assured of eternity as a people, with ultimate full restoration.

Many Jews will not share with Dr. Rosmarin her strictures against the arts as antithetical to the Jewish ethical and spiritual way of life. Her defense of the alliance of church and state in Israel is brilliant and on sound ground historically, but few will agree with her except those of partisan interest.

The concept of the "Chosen People," she explains, has nothing to do with superiority. Jews were chosen not for "privileges of nobility and ease but obligations of a stern code of ethics." Jews were chosen to suffer and serve—to carry the "sweet burden of serving as a light unto the nations."

Jewish Survival goes a long way toward explaining the spirit and the faith which have kept Jews alive during two millennia of wanderings.

One of the most spectacular individual figures in this long history of exile was Dr. Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). While others before him had dreamed and prayed for the "restoration," while contemporaries, unbeknown to him, were actually emigrating to Palestine, Herzl, with boldness and vision, moved to create the machinery and organization which would force God's hand. The vehicle was the Zionist Organization.

The magnificent story of this unusual and dominating personality has been told many times. There is at least one splendid biography which may never be excelled. In his modest work, however, Dr. Frankl presents the devoted tribute of one who was close to Dr. Herzl and learned to know him as friend and colleague. The tempo is uneven and the adoration unrestrained. Yet it is impossible to write a bad book about a great man, and the present volume takes its proper and modest place in proud company.

New York City

CARL ALPERT

THE GRAND ALLIANCE. By *Winston S. Churchill*. [The Second World War, Volume III.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1950. Pp. xvi, 903. \$6.00.)

THE third volume of Winston Churchill's epic account of the Second World War maintains the high literary level of his *The Gathering Storm* and *Their Finest Hour*, and carries the story from the beginning of 1941 to the Japanese attacks on American and British Pacific possessions at the end of that year. The book will be of special interest to most American readers because of its long accounts of American policy and its frequent cordial tributes to President Roosevelt and his advisers, but professional historians will perhaps turn more frequently to less familiar topics: the war in the African desert, the loss of the Balkans and of Crete, the unpreparedness of Russia for Germany's sudden attack, and Churchill's controversies with Generals Auchinleck and Wavell, and with the Australian government, over details in the Near Eastern campaign.

Churchill defends the British intervention in Greece on the ground that British help delayed German action against Russia long enough to disarrange the entire Russian campaign (p. 29), and that the German attack on Crete "the first large-scale airborne attack in the annals of war" (p. 284) had used up valuable forces that might have been employed elsewhere, "the forces [Göring] expended there might easily have given him Cyprus, Iraq, Syria, and even perhaps Persia" (p.

302). This was the more important, since Russia, in spite of repeated British warnings, clung fatuously to the belief that Germany would not attack for a long time to come. "War is mainly a catalogue of blunders, but it may be doubted whether any mistake in history has equalled that of which Stalin and the Communist chiefs were guilty when they cast away all possibilities in the Balkans and supinely awaited, or were incapable of realising, the fearful onslaught which impended upon Russia" (p. 353). While paying the highest tribute to the valor and patriotism of the individual Russians, peasants and soldiers, it is clear that Churchill has no great opinion of the Russian rulers, whether as statesmen, diplomats, or generals. None the less, he does not regret his prompt acceptance of the Russian alliance. "If Hitler invaded Hell," he told a friend at the time, "I would make at least a favorable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons" (p. 370).

Like the German attack on Russia, like the whole Second World War, the Japanese conflict in the Far East was long foreshadowed and should have been foreseen. In September, 1941, Churchill wrote Stalin, "Should the United States be involved in war with Japan Great Britain would immediately range herself on her side" (p. 467). Germany wanted Japan to attack British and Dutch possessions in the Far East, while leaving American possessions alone, in the hope that the United States would remain neutral, but the Japanese were convinced that an operation in southeastern Asia would be too hazardous unless a prior assault were made on American bases (p. 181). In April, 1941, Churchill sent Matsuoka a very cogent analysis of the military situation existing at that time, to show the risks Japan would run by entering the war (pp. 189-90). You can hear his throaty chuckle as he writes, "I was rather pleased with this when I wrote it, and I don't mind the look of it now." When Japan struck at last, Churchill was overjoyed because, in spite of the long train of immediate disasters, he saw in the active intervention of the United States the certainty of ultimate victory. "Hitler's fate was sealed. Mussolini's fate was sealed. As for the Japanese, they would be ground to powder. . . . United we could subdue everybody else in the world" (p. 607). The whole of Churchill's strategy and diplomacy during the Second World War pivoted on the friendship and the fighting power of the United States, and the event justified his confidence in both.

As in his previous volumes, much of the interest lies in Churchill's short memorandums and dispatches published in the appendix. We learn of his wish to divide the German people from their government (the old Wilson strategy of World War I), "now that France is out of the war I certainly intend to talk rather more about the Nazis and rather less about the Germans" (p. 722); his frequent scolding of verbose officials who sent him long telegrams; his royalism—the Foreign Office "should view with a benevolent eye natural movements among the populations of different countries towards monarchies" as a "barrier against dictatorships" (pp. 746-47); and the most minute details of the war effort, from the egg supply to the provision of protected knee-caps for parachutists. In the main

body of the book there are also innumerable minor sidelights on the war, from the flight of Hess to England ("He was a medical and not a criminal case") to Churchill's own authorship of the greater part of the Atlantic Charter.

But, on the whole, the best summary of the entire work is in the author's address to Parliament in the darkest days of 1941: "Let us not forget that the enemy has difficulties of his own . . . and that all the great struggles of history have been won by superior will-power wresting victory in the teeth of odds or upon the narrowest of margins" (p. 155).

University of Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

Ancient and Medieval History

THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS EGYPT: A GENERAL SURVEY OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE AND CIVILISATION. By *Margaret A. Murray*, Fellow of University College, London. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. xxiii, 354. \$10.00.)

THE organization of this work is that used successfully by Tarn in his *Hellenistic Civilization*, a scheme that few American historical scholars have tried. The plan has some weaknesses. The history of the entire period is covered in one summary chapter at the beginning (in this work, there is an earlier small chapter on prehistory), and the remaining chapters deal with social conditions, religion, art and science, language and literature. In the present work there are several appendixes at the end, including a brief memoir of Flinders Petrie and a very short list of general works. There is an index.

The analytical approach to history, a favorite one with those scholars who regard the discipline as more of a science than it really is, almost invariably muddies the perspective and destroys the sense of continuity-in-time which is so essential to historical knowledge. Dealing as it does with a culture rich in objects that have survived, this book is a treasury of fine photographs and illustrations. There are twenty-four line drawings and ninety-seven plates, many of which contain several photographs, a few in exquisite color.

This book is superb when surviving objects are being described and the life of the time indicated by these objects is being detailed. The literature is always extremely well handled and the translations are usually fresh and forceful.

The boldest generalizations are usually those having to do with an interpretation of Egyptian religion. With some of these, struck off aptly by the author, many will agree. For instance, she says of Akhenaten, "His reign—known as the Tell el Amarna period—has had more nonsense written about it than any other period in Egyptian history, and Akhenaten is a strong rival to Cleopatra for the historical novelist" (p. 54). Some will welcome such unequivocal words directed against Breasted's build-up of Akhenaten as the "first monotheist."

Yet in the whole field of religion one gets the impression that the author has little understanding of the material she is dealing with. The "positivist party line" is a rather barren dogma for interpreting the great religious documents of Egypt or of any other culture. Vague references to what Christianity borrowed from ancient Egyptian religion are likely to cause those who have studied Christianity and know it as a religion to lose confidence in the author's purposes and judgment. To give only one illustration in this field, the author makes the categorical and unqualified statement that, "In all countries local deities were the foundation of religion" (p. 163). This is what one might call "party-line positivism." Any scholar in this field knows that historical facts have not yet demolished the arguments of Andrew Lang on the subject and that, historically, it is a highly debatable matter at the present time.

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

MYCENAE: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY AND GUIDE. By *Alan J. B. Wace*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 150, plates. \$15.00.)

MYCENAE, the city of Agamemnon, is the site which has given its name to the entire Greek civilization of the late Bronze Age. In antiquity, it had a dynasty of legendary kings; in modern times, it had a "dynasty" of renowned archaeologists. The former owe their resurrection to the latter. The present archaeological "king" of Mycenae, successor to the inspired Heinrich Schliemann and the diligent and devoted Chrestos Tsountas is Alan J. B. Wace, whose earlier detailed reports on the excavations of the British School at Mycenae have been fundamental for our comprehension of the venerable site. The book under review, the result of almost thirty years of excavation and research, has long been awaited. It was worth waiting for.

The book is beautifully illustrated and beautifully written. The very first chapter, entitled "The Setting," is a piece of literary merit which evokes the mood of the landscape, the pulse of its life, and the glorious deeds from prehistoric to modern times which took place in this vital corner of Hellas.

The subsequent chapters introduce the reader to the general chronology of the Mycenaean civilization, to the history of Mycenae, and to the chronological sequence of Mycenaean tombs. These discussions are brief, lucid, and precise and contain a number of recent discoveries. Other important results are treated in three appendixes (the date of the Treasury of Atreus, 1330 B.C., with a new reconstruction; the great fortifications of Mycenae and the Lion Gate belong to the same period, not to the thirteenth century, as suggested by J. F. Daniel; sources of stones used in the buildings of Mycenae).

Eight more chapters are devoted to a periegetic description of the site, three to the famous tholos tombs and other monuments outside the citadel, and five to the

citadel, its walls, gates, houses, and its palace. Here is an authoritative synthesis of every significant monument in Mycenae by one who knows every stone on the site. Excellent plans and drawings greatly aid in clarifying Wace's interpretation of the ruins. The attempt to interpret the House of Columns with the help of the Homeric description of the house of Odysseus will, no doubt, revive the ancient controversy about Homeric houses. An interesting problem in the history of Mycenaean religion is posed by the suggestion that the ivory group of two goddesses and a boy found by the author in 1939 represents forerunners of the goddesses of Eleusis.

The final chapter on Mycenaean civilization is one which all historians of antiquity will need to consult. Political, social, and economic organization, foreign trade, transportation on land and sea, technology, warfare and hunt as well as intellectual attainments are summarized in an essay which is the best survey of Mycenaean civilization on the Greek mainland. Although its sixteen pages read with deceptive ease, each sentence rests on profound knowledge of all pertinent facts ordered by a mind which infers only what may be sanely and reasonably inferred.

It is only fair to add that this is substantially a book about Mycenae and not a book about all the far-flung vestiges of Mycenaean civilization. Recent discoveries and publications have produced much fascinating material from Asia Minor, Syria, Cyprus—and one Mycenaean sherd traveled even as far as Babylon. A comprehensive evaluation of the part played by the prehistoric Greeks in the "international" civilization of the second millennium B.C. remains a challenging task, but the site which is central to our comprehension of this phase of Greek history has now been made intelligible and information hitherto dispersed has been offered for all to use.

Harvard University

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

STUDIES IN ANCIENT GREEK SOCIETY: THE PREHISTORIC
AEGEAN. By *George Thomson*. (New York: International Publishers. 1949.
Pp. 622. \$10.00.)

THIS is an enlightening book in many ways, a compound of ethnology, mythology, classical philology, and Marxism, which purports to establish the background of the Greeks in a totemistic, matriarchal, tribal society, transformed by predatory Achaean invaders in 1600 (p. 371) or 1400 (p. 411) B.C. into a net of patriarchal communities founded on the family, God, and private property. The conclusion is that Marxists do not distort facts to fit their principles, as has been thought, but that since private property may be proved to have had a beginning, so it may be expected to have an end. And that soon. "Ah, Faustus, now hast thou but one bare hour to live" (p. 301). But I am showing "bourgeois scepticism which ends in flippancy." Thomson is free of skepticism, or at least the bourgeois variety.

It is quite a voyage on which we are taken. Symmetrically, the book consists of five parts, of which the first and last contain four chapters, the others three. We move from kinship to matriarchy to communism to the heroic age to Homer, from the Australian bushmen to the Irish rhapsodes and the beatitude of the Kirghiz under the Soviets. Incidentally, we learn such matters as that the Attic *orgeones* were the remains of a primordial Pelasgic tribal system, that epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry in Greece corresponded to monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, and that "Homer" was not a compilation nor a solitary miracle but many hereditary poets plus (rather surprisingly) "the far-sighted statesman," the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus. (But communism never denies the value of an autocratic government.)

In a review of this length, it is obviously impossible to deal with details, but it must be confessed that the book carries little conviction. The ethnological approach to ancient history is admittedly useful, but it must be based on sound history, including a clear picture of the archaeological evidence. These conditions are rejected by Thomson. In the preface he claims that "recent developments in archaeology and linguistics have made it clear that Greek history must be studied as an episode in the general history of the Near East, and this can only be done effectively by collective research based on an agreed scientific method," but this method is Marxism, "the dialectics of the class-struggle" (p. 464.) This is what will renew the vitality of Hellenism and rescue the classics from the mandarins. This obviously rejects "the charmed circle of 'pure scholarship'" (p. 144), and with it objectivity and suspended judgment, which most of the world regards as the hallmarks of scholarship. Thomson rightly claims that he is not a scholar in the bourgeois sense of the word. He is largely unfamiliar with the major work which has been done in the last years in "the general history of the Near East." He is credulous, inconsistent, and willfully provocative, and the bourgeois reader must be prepared for pin pricks. Naturally there is much truth in his story, much that is useful as well as much that is misleading and arbitrary. But I wonder, on his own terms, how far he has accomplished his avowed purpose. I do not see that he has given classical studies a new meaning, or even cut one more prop from under the supposedly shaky structure of capitalism. He has only argued that God, the family, and private property were the results of a long and natural human development. This might lead logically to the conclusion that they meet a natural human need and are likely to last.

Yale University

C. BRADFORD WELLES

RÖMISCHER STAAT UND STAATSGEDANKE. By *Ernst Meyer*. [Erasmus-Bibliothek.] (Zurich: Artemis-Verlag. 1948. Pp. 466. Leinen SF15.)

THE reader for whom these pages are primarily intended is the educated European wishing to explore the roots of his troubled civilization. For Dr. Meyer the unity of European civilization rests on two common elements, classical antiquity

and Christianity, both of which were fostered and passed on to Europe by the famous peace of the Roman Empire. The development of Roman political organization, then, is worth investigating, and the author has succeeded admirably in giving a clear, well-written account of his subject set within the political expansion of Rome. If our students could read German, they would find this volume the best general study now available; but specialists will discover much worthy of reflection.

The first chapter, on the rise of Rome to the second century, attempts to distinguish the Indo-European and Etruscan contributions to Roman political thought and to disentangle the sequence of development in the early Republic. To criticize Meyer's discussion would be merely to set up opposite hypotheses; one may note his belief that constitutional development at least from 400 B.C. on revolves about "*Beschränkung der im Anfang nahezu unbegrenzten Beamten Gewalt*" (p. 60) which derived from the intensification of royal power under the Etruscans. Unfortunately Meyer does not carry through this idea to point out that the empire represents a reversal of the republican trend toward actual limitation and splitting up of the *imperium*.

The kernel of the book is the long description of the Roman constitution of the second-first centuries B.C. Meyer begins, as Mommsen, with the magistrates, whose peculiar significance was stressed by Cicero; then come the assemblies, the senate, the orders, and the organization of the conquered territories. Historical examples would do much to enliven the abstract discussion of these sections.

At the end of the second chapter we come at last to the section which might well have been put much earlier, "Die staatsformenden Gedanke und Kräfte" (pp. 221 ff.). The outward characteristics of the Roman state are its city-state form (from the Etruscans), with all that implies, and its aristocratic control, which is sharply delineated; one must regret that Meyer in his historical sections does not analyze the motive power and characteristics of the nobility as clearly. Unlike the Greek, the Roman state is an abstract concept which can be distinguished from the citizens composing it. Its unwritten constitution rested chiefly on *mos maiorum* as controlled by the aristocracy, moral obligation (*fides*), and a clear limitation of public authority in contrast to family responsibility (*patria potestas*). Meyer follows Kloesel (*Libertas*, Breslau, 1935) in pointing out that, to a Roman, freedom was coupled with the recognition of varying capacities of the citizen implicit in the term *auctoritas*.

In the end, however, the author must come back to Roman character, "*die lebensnahe Sachlichkeit eines Bauernvolkes*" (p. 257), and in the third chapter he retells the well-known story of the disintegration of the agricultural classes and the end of the Roman Republic. The concluding chapter on the empire to A.D. 300, the weakest of the book, tends to undue brevity and occasional superficiality. The statement, for example, that Augustus received the *imperium consulare* in 19 B.C. for life (p. 338) is a repetition of Dio's generalization which not all would accept.

On the whole the discussion is consistent and sums up really for the first time the great advances in our understanding of the Roman constitution and its changes in the sixty years since Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*. Meyer has read widely and cites most of the recent literature in his notes (at the end of the volume). The chief defect in the work rises almost inevitably from its purpose: the purely descriptive too often takes the place of probing analysis of the reasons why the Roman constitution developed as it did. Typographical errors are few, but the effort of the publishers to crowd as many words as possible on a page occasionally produces lines in which one word melts into the next. The index is sadly inadequate.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

THE FORMATION OF THE GERMAN COLLEGE OF ELECTORS IN THE MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Charles C. Bayley*, Department of History, McGill University. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1949. Pp. 237. \$4.00.)

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III spoke of certain princes *ad quos specialiter spectat regis Romanorum electio*. Who were they? How did they come to possess this special right? What was their connection with the body of seven electors which was evidently in existence after 1257? This is the concrete problem facing the historian who would write of the formation of the German college of electors in the mid-thirteenth century. Mr. Bayley, in the monograph under review, shows a positive genius for avoiding it. Time and again (pp. 18, 22, 35, 36, 74, 85, 89, 98, 99, 107, 124, 126, 149) the opportunity for detailed analysis arises; time and again Mr. Bayley shirks it, skirting round the specific question with vague references to "those present," "the leading princes," "certain prominent territorial magnates," etc. Only for 8 out of 213 pages of text does he come to the point; but when he gets there (pp. 182-90), he has nothing to say which was not better said in the elementary German textbook, Meister's *Grundriss*, as long ago as 1922.

The book is, therefore, somewhat disappointing. The sketch of German and international politics about the middle of the thirteenth century, with which it opens (pp. 3-77), is competently done; but no attempt is made to demonstrate its relevance to the matter in hand. The remainder (apart from an epilogue) contains a slight survey of the conflict between elective and hereditary principles in the history of the German monarchy—marred by inaccuracies and not always well informed—leading to the portentous platitude (pp. 140-41) that "the emergence of a college of prince-electors" was "the institutional expression" of "the development of princely independence and the decay of monarchical power." Evidently. But the fact still remains that there were a score of other possible ways of expressing "institutionally" the rise of the princes and the decline of the kingship—all the *Reichsfürsten*, for example, might have been entitled to vote—and the particular char-

acter, numbers, and personnel, of the body which emerged still remain unexplained. Why, for example, was the number fixed at seven? Because, says Mr. Bayley, of "concurrent political conditions." Why did Brabant fail to secure a vote, while other "territorial magnates," no more prominent, did? Because, says Mr. Bayley—annexing (without acknowledgment) Meister's explanation of "*faktische historische Vorgänge*" in almost the same breath in which he scoffs (pp. 188–89) at "German scholars" for toying with preconceived constitutional theories—the rise of the electoral college was "an empirical process not to be explained in terms of a clearly-formulated constitutional theory." Scholars such as Krammer and Bloch, Buchner, Rosenstock, and Mitteis, are however quite right in seeing that such "explanations" explain little of importance, and that the problem, constitutionally considered, goes deeper. On the other hand, it is, I think, true that none of the German attempts to explain the nonpolitical, nonempirical aspects of the problem has been conspicuously successful. Precisely that is why Mr. Bayley's failure is so disappointing. The opportunity to make a significant contribution to an important subject was there; instead, like the ostrich in the fable, he has attempted to solve the problem by ignoring its existence. It is with regret that I state that I have been unable to find one place where he has anything new or significant to say; and he does not even provide—what would per se have been a useful service—a reasoned summary of the present state of knowledge or a critique of the results of German research.

Halton, Cheshire, England

G. BARRACLOUGH

THE IDEA OF USURY: FROM TRIBAL BROTHERHOOD TO UNIVERSAL OTHERHOOD. By *Benjamin N. Nelson*. [History of Ideas Series, No. 3.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 257. \$3.00.)

THIS scholarly monograph with the odd subtitle is an essay in intellectual history after the manner of Arthur O. Lovejoy. In order to illumine the transvaluation of ethical values in the West the author has selected a single idea, the idea of usury, and described its history from the early Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century. The vagaries of this idea over two thousand years demonstrate, according to the author, the transition from tribalism to universalism; from the ancient Jewish ethic, which formulated different rules of behavior toward blood "brothers" and strangers (or "others"), to an ethic which, as in the Middle Ages, regarded all men as equally "brothers," or which, as in the modern capitalistic system, treats them as equally "others." Mr. Nelson's terminology, specifically his use of the bizarre term "universal otherhood" to describe the ethic of the competitive economic system, sometimes gets in his way. But he traces with a sure hand the breakdown of the Deuteronomic prohibition of usury since the sixteenth century.

The most original and satisfactory chapter in the book is the one dealing with the German Reformation. To readers of Weber and Ashley and Tawney it will

come as no surprise that Calvin abrogated the Deuteronomic prohibition as inapplicable to modern business conditions, and sanctioned usury which did not bite the poor. But Luther, it appears, and Melancthon too, went beyond the most latitudinarian views of medieval theologians and jurists in support of current business practice. Luther, that is to say, was less of an economic conservative than Tawney supposed. Ironically, it was Luther's pessimistic anthropology, and not certainly his love of businessmen, that made him help to make the world safe for capitalism. Since man the sinner is constitutionally unable to imitate the life of Christ, the Christian ethic of brotherhood cannot be the basis of civil society but only an ideal standard. In Luther's theology there was also the tendency to enlarge the sphere of the individual conscience and thus to make money-lending a matter of Christian liberty. It should be noted, however, that Luther's decision to support moderate usury came only after 1523 when he began to fear the social anarchy that might result from the utopian preaching of left-wing reformers like Karlstadt and Jacob Strauss.

Perhaps the Reformation was not quite so crucial in the history of the idea of usury as Mr. Nelson contends. More could conceivably have been made of late medieval casuistry which condoned usury by calling it by a different name. But Mr. Nelson has effectively shown how Lutheranism, as well as Calvinism, paved the way for the capitalist ethic in which all men are regarded as "others" rather than "brothers." And as he points out in the epilogue, this trend away from tribal ethics has not been all pure gain.

Yale University

FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

Modern European History

THE ELIZABETHAN HOUSE OF COMMONS. By *J. E. Neale*, Astor Professor of English History in the University of London. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. 455. \$5.00.)

It is a pleasure to review a book like this, a book so learned, so informative, so ably constructed, so gracefully written. Mr. Neale, long the leading authority on the Elizabethan House of Commons, has produced a work of major historical importance that will remain a classic in its field and a model of readable scholarship.

A writer in 1628 remarked of the House of Commons of that year, "They say it is the most noble, magnanimous assembly that ever those walls contained." How was it that the Commons comprised such talent, wealth, and leadership, the flower and choice of the realm? The greater portion of Mr. Neale's book, which deals with elections and with analysis of personnel, answers this question by placing the House of Commons in its proper social setting. For it was in this period that the invasion of the Commons by the gentry class became irresistible. County seats were normally confined to the most prominent county families, and gentlemen

eagerly sought election as a touchstone of primacy in county society. But they also crowded into the seats of cities and boroughs. They were able to do so, despite local resistance, because so many cities and boroughs as well as rural districts looked to some great man as patron and found it difficult to resist his wishes at election time. Sometimes the gentry were patrons themselves; sometimes they applied to patrons for seats. The steady increase in the number of parliamentary boroughs was the result of pressure upon the crown by gentry and by borough patrons in order to increase their chances of election or to enlarge their spheres of influence. Decayed boroughs, moreover, could no longer pay wages to their members, and this offered another opening to the gentry. The local scene, of course, had infinite variations, and there were cities and boroughs that did not capitulate. But by the end of the century the Commons contained four members of the gentry class to every townsman, though the distribution of seats should have produced exactly the reverse. The medieval law requiring the residence of members in their constituencies was quietly ignored, though often cited. This admission of talent from any quarter greatly enhanced the average ability of members and fostered a national rather than a parochial point of view. Thus did the Commons grow so formidable that princes began to look pale upon those assemblies.

Material on elections is often hard to come by, but Mr. Neale has found a very large amount. In the records of the court of Star Chamber, where election disputes were sometimes taken, he has discovered some elections described in great detail. Even where evidence is lacking, he has, with great skill and with a wide knowledge of local and family history, built up a picture that is most illuminating.

The largest group in the Commons was composed of gentry, the second of minor government officials, the third of lawyers. The number of officials is impressive but does not prove necessarily that the government interfered widely in elections. Officials entered the Commons through their own influence or through patrons. These patrons, though themselves connected with the government, gave seats to friends, dependents, and servants, without much thought of building a parliamentary party. Only at the end of the reign, in the intense rivalry of Essex and Cecil, was the influence at the disposal of the government more systematically applied.

Final chapters describe the daily working of the House of Commons, its officials, its developing procedure, its customs and conventions, its style of speaking, its ceremonies at the opening and at the close of sessions. These chapters contain fascinating detail; and they are enriched by the discovery of new diaries, tracts, and speeches. Obviously the House of Commons had come of age. It had grown more critical, more loquacious, more sophisticated, more formidable. One hears of a timorous member who rose, trembled, and sat down in silence.

The chronological story of the Elizabethan House of Commons Mr. Neale reserves for a second volume.

University of Minnesota

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON

THE CRISIS OF THE CONSTITUTION: AN ESSAY IN CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ENGLAND, 1603-1645.
By *Margaret Atwood Judson*. [Rutgers Studies in History, No. 5.] (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 444. \$5.00.)

THE significance of Professor Judson's work, a quite independent study from J. W. Allen's volume on the same period, derives both from the range of sources she has used and from the breadth and penetration of her analysis. Standard books on the history of political thought are mainly concerned with formal dissertations, but Miss Judson is dealing with the period between Hooker and Hobbes when no very comprehensive or original political treatise was written. Yet on political and constitutional questions the most critical debates in English history were under way. In order as a historian of ideas to deal freshly with this theme Miss Judson has conducted a wide search for expressions of political conviction wherever they could be found—whether practical, theoretical, concrete, rhetorical, spontaneous, casual, or inadvertent. Making full use of the relevant contributions of other scholars, she has herself examined such sources as legal proceedings, sermons, pamphlets, and parliamentary diaries. She wastes no time in disparaging the work of other historians but demonstrates her conclusions with convincing force. She has made hers an indispensable book for students of the great controversy among Englishmen.

If the historian of this controversy resists the temptations of partisanship as Miss Judson does, he may still exploit his hindsight to a point where he finds revolutionaries and extreme royalists before they really appeared. Miss Judson does not find them. Noting the dearth of profound, realistic, or logical speculation on politics and the constitution before the great outpouring of 1642 to 1660, Miss Judson analyzes the common core of understanding among Englishmen while the rift in their society was developing. At least up to the latter part of 1641, parliamentarians not only believed in monarchy but recognized areas of government where the king was not limited by human institutions; royalists at the same time admitted inviolable rights of the subject and found the rule of law compatible with their exaltation of the king. The ideal of both parliamentarians and royalists was a balanced polity, and parliament, regarded neither as a sovereign body nor as a creature of the king, was where harmony between king and people was achieved.

This medieval-Tudor ideal steadily eluded the grasp of both contestants. Miss Judson shows, in pages of closely reasoned arguments and meticulous differentiations, how few men there were who faced the real issues of political power and sovereignty, or who sought, through the monarch or through parliament, a new kind of balance or unity. The ideological moderation of the great majority of adversaries on both sides, whether councillors, judges, parliamentarians, lawyers, or clerics, obscured the lines along which the battle of ideas was being fought (and greatly complicated Miss Judson's task), but the lines, nevertheless, were being drawn—between legal absolutism and personal or parliamentary rights, between

guardians of the general welfare, between different versions of God's plan. The civil war may have been inevitable, but Miss Judson reveals why, for the reluctant fighters, it was unnatural. She concludes her study by selecting for examination five writers who finally clarified the issues in the early years of the civil war—the royalists Henry Ferne and Dudley Digges, the parliamentarians Philip Hunton, Henry Parker, and Charles Herle, assigning, in the light of the future, important places to Parker and Herle, and to the moderate Hunton as a precursor of Locke.

Even among scholars as wise as Miss Judson there will no doubt be some who will take exception to her judgments on some points. But I venture to say they will find that the doubtful speculations, as well as the errors and misprints, are extraordinarily few and insignificant. In an illuminating book she has combined detachment with a feeling for ideas that matter.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

COUNTRY AND TOWN IN IRELAND UNDER THE GEORGES. By *Constantia Maxwell*, Lecky Professor of Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. (Dundalk, Ireland: Dundalgan Press. 1949. Pp. 380. 21s.)

THE first edition of this work, published in 1940 but almost entirely destroyed by fire in London during the war, has been republished with minor changes and additional illustrations. It is both a pleasure and a surprise to read Irish history that is not special pleading. Here the sources are permitted to speak for themselves, even though the evidence at times is conflicting. Furthermore, states the author, "all sweeping generalizations have been purposely avoided." "The reader is left to draw his own conclusions and to make his own synthesis," is the concluding remark in this compact, scrupulously written social history of eighteenth century Ireland.

The framework is simply conceived with full treatment accorded the gentry, the peasantry, the clergy, agriculture, grazing, and trade. In addition, there are appropriate discussions of the architecture of the country houses and of the physical appearance of the towns. Transportation and travel are dealt with in the chapter on roads and canals.

The status and attitude of the gentry shifted during the course of a century. The Anglo-Irish landlord, frequently absentee, seemed at the beginning of the century little more than a parasite. As the century progressed this class, however, exhibited a concern for the improvement of agriculture, the removal of trade barriers, and the institution of an Irish parliament. As crass exploitation of the land and the tenant diminished, grossness and debauchery as a way of life yielded to improved habits and morals. A better educated and traveled gentry adopted standards of taste and elegance that were reflected in the appearance of impressive country houses with art collections and libraries. The Enlightenment, however, affected only a fraction of the gentry and touched only certain districts.

The author underscores with fresh material the condition of the rack-rented tenantry. It was a victim of rapid population increase and the situation was hardly alleviated by the withdrawal of land from tillage. The Great Famine of the next century was clearly presaged. Dr. Maxwell's analysis of primitive conditions of shelter, diet, and clothing and the addiction to drink and thieving, relieved only by the ministrations of an outlawed Catholic clergy and the "hedge schools," constitutes one of the more vivid chapters in the annals of poverty. The prevailing religious patterns only reinforce the social contrasts in a benighted country. The Anglican Church despite its prerogatives was destitute of influence. Its glebes were poor, its churches in disrepair or decay, and its clergy inferior. Only the higher clergy, principally English and absentee, benefited by this alliance of church and state. "A true Irish bishop," wrote a contemporary, "has nothing more to do than to eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die." Fortunately, with prosperity and improved livings and with the relaxation of the penal laws, both the lot and the quality of the lower clergy tended to improve.

The account of the towns and their trade supplies a much needed want. The status of the linen, woolen, and fishing towns, together with the commerce of Dublin, Cork, and Limerick, is fully discussed. The emergence of Belfast at the close of the century, with its manufacturing and shipbuilding, marks the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Ireland, restricted though it was to be.

College of William and Mary

JOHN E. POMFRET

THE WRITING OF *PAST AND PRESENT*: A STUDY OF CARLYLE'S MANUSCRIPTS. By *Grace J. Calder*, Assistant Professor of English in Hunter College. [Yale Studies in English, Volume CXII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 216. \$3.75.)

It is undoubtedly a mistake for authors to leave manuscripts lying about; but if they do, whether from carelessness or greedy hope of selling them to collectors, then the best thing we can do is to turn their folly to advantage by studying their habits of work. This is what Miss Grace Calder of Hunter College has done with Carlyle's *Past and Present*, which exists in two manuscript drafts, nearly complete. Since Book Two of Carlyle's work relies for its description of medieval society upon the *Chronicle* by Jocelin de Brakelond, the student of the manuscripts had an additional text with which to compare her author's ways of composition. Her first three chapters are accordingly full of valuable information regarding the aptness and fidelity—and also the felicity—of Carlyle's employment of his source.

Long before one has finished reading these first hundred pages of the monograph, one is convinced of Miss Calder's ability as a scholar. She puts the right questions to herself, anticipates those the reader might invent on the way, and answers both kinds with assurance and clarity. She has read the relevant secondary studies of Carlyle as historian, and she shares the view of the wisest judges that

although Carlyle was not a professional, neither was he an amateur: he was a genius, and only when history is written by creatures superior to geniuses will it be time to affect scorn for his work.

The remainder of Miss Calder's study deals with Carlyle's denunciation of contemporary England—Books I, III, and IV of *Past and Present*—and with what she calls, rather ambiguously, "the development of Carlyle's style." In the first part of this double attempt, we find her again a true guide and accurate reporter. It is in the critical last part—some seventy-five pages of generalization—that she fails us, chiefly from lack of literary imagination.

This complaint of lack of imagination in scholarly work is frequent enough to warrant the plaintiff's specifying his grounds. Where is there room in scholarship for the nonlogical faculty of image-making? Most commonly it is required for understanding what lies in front of us. Miss Calder wishes to study style and she tells us very sensibly that in discussing Carlyle's successive versions of one phrase, she will not enter the labyrinth of prose rhythms. She obviously means the tenuous kind of reading-in done by Saintsbury or Bonamy Dobree on "high" prose. But in rejecting this sort of quasi-musical analysis, she overlooks the simple element of "sayability," which may well depend on rhythm in its most obvious form. For instance she finds that Carlyle changes "mutinous Irish hodmen" to "mutinous masons and Irish hodmen." The first draft is clearly a difficult mouthful—even (if one may put it so) for the mind's ear; whereas the second combines alliteration, hendiadys, and a wisp of humor. It is therefore not enough to remark, as Miss Calder does, that revision produced merely "more concrete and emphatic meaning."

The importance of sound to sense should have concerned Miss Calder not only because of her professional connection with a department of English but also because of her genuine appreciation of Carlyle's gifts as a historian. She should see that style is an essential component of historical truth; in the example just chosen, it could be shown that the ease with which the idea slips into the mind is part of its efficacy as a touch within the total presentment. In short, history is an art not because it is too uncertain to be a science, but because it communicates by means of the best ordering of its parts.

Without wishing to lessen the worth of Miss Calder's painstaking and intelligent study, it is proper to go one step further in verbal criticism. When one has worked and lived with the words of a Carlyle, a certain zest for lively and idiomatic expression should seize one's soul. Perhaps Miss Calder was overawed by the solemnity of a doctoral defense, but she did not rise to her opportunities nor to the full extent of her powers. Why write such things as: "Several features make the First Draft interesting" or speak of Carlyle's "basic habits"—as if we had not enough jargon and tautology in the morning's second-class mail? Again, it is regrettable to find a teacher of the English language violating the instinctive rule that a modified noun requires a defining article before it: *not* "Exposition of methods of writing . . ." but "The exposition . . ."; *not* "this token of thoughtfulness

that was habitual," but "this token of a thoughtfulness. . . ." Miss Calder concludes about Carlyle that "Diction became his tempter," and she gives amusing remarks by his printers about the unceasing corrections between copy and printed book. No one would expect the writer of a first scholarly study to perform like a master, but it would be a good example for other scholar-critic-historians if Diction became more often than now their beneficent tempter.

Columbia University

JACQUES BARZUN

ROYAL DUKES: THE FATHER AND UNCLES OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

By *Roger Fulford*. (3d printing; London: Gerald Duckworth and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. 320. \$2.50.)

GEORGE THE FOURTH. By *Roger Fulford*. (Rev. ed.; London: Gerald Duckworth and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. 240. \$3.50.)

WHEN an author tries to make heroes out of villains and does his job well, historical studies are benefited, by emphasis on what has been neglected. For this reason the reissue of Mr. Roger Fulford's *Royal Dukes* (first published in 1933 and republished in 1940) and the partial revision of his *George the Fourth* (first published in 1935) will improve the general understanding of the reigns of George III, George IV, and William IV. Not only do the sons of George III stand out on these pages as real three-dimensional human beings instead of the "wicked uncles" of legend but forgotten aspects of the England of 1780-1840 come to view. Mr. Fulford attacks common preconceptions about the prince regent and the dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, and Cambridge by raising such questions as these: Did the prince regent treat his wife worse than she deserved, or does a correct interpretation of his letter of April 30, 1796, show that he treated not too badly a thoroughly disagreeable person, of whose impossible behavior it was forbidden to make public complaint? Did he really believe he had led charges on the battlefield, or did he just enjoy watching the duke of Wellington squirm when he said so? Was the duke of Clarence an incompetent lord high admiral, or did he merely vex slothful administrators by the blundering way he encouraged overdue reforms? If the duke of Cumberland was really wicked enough to be accused of plotting to murder his niece Victoria, why were the Hanoverians so pleased with him when he was their king? By such arguments Mr. Fulford invites a reappraisal of these men and of the reasons for judging their place in history.

Furthermore, in showing why he thinks these men have been misjudged, Mr. Fulford challenges the weight hitherto given to source material, especially the creditability of certain diarists, and also challenges a usual opinion of the position of the royal family at that time. He does this with discretion, neither ascribing to these men virtues they did not have, nor denying the vices they did have, even though he does weight the scales in their favor. He has ranged widely in

search for evidence, has selected well, and has fallen into few errors. In accuracy, his *George the Fourth* is above the *Royal Dukes*, the former, for example, correctly stressing that Palmerston began his political life as a Tory (p. 70), the latter incorrectly calling him a Whig (p. 130). The revision of *George the Fourth* consists of the insertion of material from the *Letters of King George IV*, which adds to the interest of the book but does not essentially change its line of argument. Both books will have a definite place in forming thought about the period that they cover.

Wellesley College

RICHARD W. HALE, JR.

LAFAYETTE BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1783-1789). By *Louis Gottschalk*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 461. \$7.50.)

This is the fourth volume to appear in Professor Gottschalk's definitive and monumental life of Lafayette. The three preceding ones (see *American Historical Review*, XLII, 310; XLIV, 392; and XLVIII, 354) followed the career of the marquis through to the close of the American Revolutionary War. This volume, covering the period 1783-1789, continues the account during the less exciting years between the American peace treaty and the opening events in Revolutionary France. They were, however, important years—formative and germinal—and they have been sadly neglected by all of Lafayette's earlier biographers. To those of them with an American orientation, everything after 1783 was anticlimactic; while authors primarily concerned with his role during the French Revolution have paid slight attention to any more than the dramatic episodes of his life before 1789 and have generally assumed that he arrived home from America a full-fledged aristocratic revolutionary. Professor Gottschalk, by providing a carefully delineated account of these interim years, has succeeded not only in making Lafayette a more understandable figure but also in giving a revealing picture of the trend of political thinking on the eve of the destruction of the *ancien régime*.

Heretofore Lafayette has been characterized, even by some of his serious biographers, as an adventurous youth ("boy," Cornwallis had called him) who stumbled into fame in America and then returned to France repeating ideas he had heard abroad without understanding them. This pose, it was said he soon learned, kept his fame bright and led him to commit himself to a line of action that finally engulfed him in the maelstrom of the Revolution, to his own grave misfortune. Such a depicting of Lafayette's character and motivation is at best a sorry caricature, and to what extent Professor Gottschalk has now made clear. Lafayette always carried with him certain marks of immaturity, and one of them was a craving for admiration, but he was not the shallow, wooden creature he has often been described as being. As this volume amply demonstrates, he attained considerable intellectual growth during the years between the two revolutions—much of it on

his own initiative. When he was in America he had read none of the *philosophes* and knew little about them, but by 1789 he was the accepted associate and correspondent of their successors. While many of his interventions into the workings of French autocracy which filled these years were in pursuit of the interests of Franco-American trade and friendship, many were not, and he increasingly concerned himself with tax relief, religious toleration, the abolition of Negro slavery, and political reform. It is easy to say that he thus conducted himself to win the plaudits of the crowd, or to hold the high regard of his American friends, especially Washington, whom he venerated as a father, and Jefferson, who was then minister to France and constantly in close association with him. But it is also possible to say that Lafayette, with all his popularity and reputation could have as easily tried another path and a very plausible one—to the royal ministry. As a man of action and ambition, he doubtless thought of this more than once but never let it affect his principles. On more than one occasion, when behaving in accordance with the latter, he aroused the anger of the court, and while such actions added to his reputation in certain quarters and were to pay important dividends in the early months of the Revolution, they were not “calculated risks.” There was little calculation in Lafayette, and that is much to his credit.

What he sometimes said when he did speak out against the government was not always clear and consistent. It is, indeed, in explaining this that Professor Gottschalk performs his best service, for he has been able to demonstrate, by using Lafayette as an example, how recognition of the need for general and immediate reform developed in the minds of serious Frenchmen in the 1780's. The thought was groping and frequently ill-expressed—hard as it is now for us to realize it, there was little practical experience to go by—yet it had a logical progression, even if its end results were illogical. Lafayette was, and remained, a monarchist, but his reasoning became more and more “republican” and radical as he sought for ways to impose constitutional limitations upon a capricious and lethargic despotism. His experience, as described in this volume, gives added depth and substance to an understanding of France just prior to the Revolution.

What will most impress the reader, however, as it has impressed those who have read this volume's predecessors, is the magnitude of the scholarship involved. It is rare in these times that someone undertakes a study involving the career of a public figure who played a prominent part in two world-shaking revolutions a hemisphere apart and, purposely foregoing the temptation of painting the canvas in broad sweeps, determines to fill in every last detail meticulously no matter how many years it may take.

University of Wisconsin

HENRY BERTRAM HILL

ROUHER ET LE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Robert Schnerb*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1949. Pp. 351. 750 fr.)

It is refreshing to find a work of sound scholarship which reminds us that history is an art as well as a science. To a full and critical bibliography the author adds enough footnotes to prove his unquestioned accuracy to any historian not already familiar with his work. In a preface he lays bare the difficulties of his task. They were due chiefly to Rouher himself, who had little interest in art or literature and left no memoirs. No new light is thrown on the coup d'état, the Mexican adventure, or the origins of the war of 1870, for, as M. Schnerb shows, Rouher was a hard-working bourgeois with an innate dislike for romantic adventurers and undue risks. Methodical and thrifty to the point of stinginess, he was correct in social and official life as in religion. He enjoyed power and a comfortable income and could master both personal and documentary problems with admirable thoroughness and speed.

He is clearly portrayed as an excellent pleader before the *Corps législatif* as in a court of law, but as neither a learned jurist nor an imaginative statesman. The author, seeking to paint the vice emperor's portrait in vivid verbal flashes through brief and incomplete quotations, acute and witty characterizations, and frequent allusions to the literature and gossip of the day, is distressed because his subject is simply a kind of French governess cleaning up the administrative nursery after Napoleon the Little. M. Schnerb is unable even to prove that Rouher had a mistress, though he does show that he quarreled with his old friend, the duc de Morny, for abandoning his old and gifted mistress of great charm for a new and more highly titled wife. What else could one expect of the grandson of Josephine and Talleyrand? And how could one expect Rouher to understand him?

M. Schnerb writes as a political historian, which his subject requires. He includes Rouher's important work in the development of both commerce and transportation and shows how he continued to defend this work to the day of his retirement in 1880, just as he defended the empress Eugénie and the prince imperial with courage and loyalty after their glory had departed as well as before. The author, like Rouher himself, sees the practical problems and the personalities but does not perceive the rising tide of the Industrial Revolution in France, which made desirable, if it did not compel, the adoption of a new economic policy.

University of Michigan

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM

L'ÉVOLUTION DES CLASSES RURALES EN BAVIÈRE DEPUIS LA FIN DE L'ÉPOQUE CAROLINGIENNE JUSQU'AU MILIEU DU XIII^e SIÈCLE. By *Philippe Dollinger*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université des Strasbourg. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicule 112.] (Paris: Société d'Édition, Les Belles Lettres 1949. Pp. xxii, 530.)

DIE BAYERISCHE GRUNDHERRSCHAFT: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE AGRARVERFASSUNG ALTBAYERNS IM 16.-18. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Friedrich Lütge*. (Stuttgart: Piscator-Verlag, 1949. Pp. 187. DM. 76.)

MORE than a thousand years of regional rural history are illuminated in these two authoritative books. Strikingly similar in their lines of approach and method of inquiry, they complement each other almost perfectly. Both Dollinger and Lütge, who is professor of economic history in the University of Munich, concentrate on a descriptive analysis of the agrarian social structure of Old Bavaria, as conditioned by the many and often profound transformations of the economic, political, and administrative character of manorial organization. From the late Carolingian period to the liberal reforms of the nineteenth century, social class distinctions and economic life in rural Bavaria continued to be dominated by the *Grundherrschaft*, the German counterpart to the French institution of the *seigneurie* and to the manorial system in England.

Dollinger's superbly documented study, begun in 1932, is mainly based on a painstaking and unusually comprehensive examination of primary sources, including many unpublished monastic records. Lütge synthesizes a vast body of specialized work; a synthesis which is strongly reinforced by diligent research, independent thinking, and sober judgment. Both authors know how to relate a huge mass of detailed technical evidence, presented with gratifying clarity and precision, to general problems and to a broadly conceived comparative frame of reference over which they keep control. What is typical and what is peculiar in the evolution of the rural social strata of Bavaria, Dollinger brings into bold relief by comparison with the highly diversified parallel developments in other sections of western Germany. But he also methodically contrasts Bavaria with the far less differentiated pattern of social regrouping in France and, sporadically, with the trends of social mobility in eastern Germany and Slavonic Europe. Unlike Dollinger, Lütge makes no attempt to integrate his regional investigation into the legal and economic history of the countryside of western continental Europe. His superior knowledge of German agrarian history as a whole enables him, however, to place his sectional study at least into national perspective. The extent to which Old Bavaria remained a case *sui generis* he makes clear by pungent comments on the rich disparity of modes of estate management, of bundles of different rights over land and over people living on the land, of greatly varying combinations of distinctive types of lordship (*Grundherrschaft*, *Gerichtsherrschaft*, *Vogtherrschaft*, *Leibherrschaft*, *Gutsherrschaft*, *Landesherrschaft*) and of dependent cultivation in the major agricultural regions of southwestern, northwestern, central, and eastern Germany.

Dollinger portrays rural society in a state of constant flux. Conversely, Lütge deals with a relatively unchanging fabric of agrarian relations. As an operating social and economic system, the Bavarian *Grundherrschaft* of the eighteenth century was essentially the same as in the sixteenth century. It was more stagnant than elsewhere in Germany although its governmental functions were readjusted under the impact of the "absolutist" authority of the dynastic-bureaucratic state of the Wittelsbacher. By force of circumstances Lütge stresses continuity and Dollinger innovation.

It is impossible to spell out here the content of these two weighty volumes. (For a summary of Dollinger's findings see his own account in *Annales*, IV, 331-39.) What stands out, bewildering crosscurrents of social reclassification notwithstanding, is the checkered process of disintegration of a rural population, which in the late Carolingian period was subdivided into various distinct free and servile legal status groups. Thereafter the old lines of demarcation become blurred because of the rise of novel standards and group attributes. A new social hierarchy emerges, made up of classes and strata which are marked off from one another primarily by virtue of property holdings and forms of tenure, occupational activity, actual social condition, and a specific way of life. The long-established, peculiarly Bavarian peasant aristocracy of the *Barschalken*, for instance, who are regarded as personally free in the ninth, as servile in the tenth and eleventh, and again as free in the twelfth centuries, lose their identity as a special socio-economic group in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in the course of the economic revolution which entailed a radical reorganization of the use of land and labor. It was this age which witnessed the adoption of a system of fixed-term leaseholds in the place of the direct exploitation of the demesne and of the diminution or disappearance of praedial labor services, functioning both as a cause and an effect of the alienation of the lord's home farm and of inter-class mobility as well. Now the *Barschalken* amalgamated with the *censuales*, who as a privileged group of free tenants had come into being in the tenth century on ecclesiastical estates, and with the former customary villein serfs, the *servi manentes*. The latter, despite widespread subdivision of their holdings, had passed through a process of social upgrading by getting rid of some of the earmarks of their personal servility. By the thirteenth century, these three categories of people formed the new economic class of *coloni*, that is, of peasant-producers, free, unfree, or semifree by personal status but servile by tenure. On the other hand, the once numerous legal class of mostly landless household serfs was, as such, almost completely obliterated. In consequence of the decline of demesne farming many members of this class were converted into dependent tenants or urban immigrants. The remainder split up into a whole string of more or less fluid vocational groups and subgroups, widely differing in social function, legal characteristics, rank, prestige, and amount and sources of income. In this connection Dollinger throws new light on the much debated question of the complex origin and the stages of development of the *ministeriales*. This new hereditary social class, which was destined to furnish the main spring for the recruitment of the lesser nobility, had not crystallized in Bavaria before the eleventh century. Its initial core, though composite even then, consisted of privileged bondsmen, serving as knights and seignorial officials.

Dollinger and Lütge emphasize, and rightly so, the attenuation of the historical importance of legal distinctions between the rural classes and the mounting significance of nonjuridic criteria as regulators of social position and restratification. Yet, in their concrete application, conditioned by the nature of their sources but

also, it seems, by the heritage of the history of agrarian historiography, they devote most of their energy to an exhaustive description of the legal aspects of the institutional framework of economic and social class relations rather than to an analysis of the actual material conditions which sustained alterations in these relations. Both authors, moreover, are unduly shy in venturing causal explanations. Nevertheless, the work here accomplished constitutes a major contribution to the knowledge and understanding of German social history. It is good to know that in spite of the enormous disorder wrought by the world crisis of our time some historians in western European lands are moving forward again with vigorous strides.

Brooklyn College

HANS ROSENBERG

AUS ÖSTERREICH'S VERGANGENHEIT: VON PRINZ EUGEN ZU FRANZ JOSEPH. By *Heinrich Ritter von Srbik*. (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1949. Pp. 300. 38 sch.)

THIS volume is not a history of Austria since the seventeenth century but a collection of five different essays on the following subjects: the political ideas of Prince Eugene; the memoirs of General von John for the years 1866 and 1870; the old Austrian military spirit as exemplified by Archduke Albrecht and General Benedek; Baron von Kuhn's activities as minister of war between 1868 and 1874; a character sketch of Emperor Francis Joseph; and, lastly, Austria's mission as reflected in maxims current during various times in Austrian history. All of these essays except the first have previously been published in such periodicals and works as the *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*; the *Historische Zeitschrift*; and the *Stufen und Wandlungen der deutschen Einheit*, edited by Kurt von Raumer and Theodor Schieder.

In line with the views of the Pan-German school of Austrian historiography of which the author has been the most prominent member, Srbik represents Prince Eugene not merely as the redeemer of the Habsburg monarchy but as the savior of the whole German empire, with which he claims Austria's fate was inextricably interwoven.

The essay on General von John, in which the author evaluates a memoir which the general dictated in 1874, is an excellent piece of historical criticism. Srbik shows that John's assertions that he played the decisive role in influencing the emperor to make peace with Prussia immediately after Königgrätz and that he prevented Austria from entering the war in 1870 on the side of France have to be accepted with qualifying reservations.

In the third section of the volume the author describes how Archduke Albrecht and General Benedek exemplify the traditional imperial and military spirit of the nineteenth century Austrian conservatives. In the next part Srbik turns his attention to Baron von Kuhn, Albrecht's bitter political enemy, who was a German

liberal but violently anti-Prussian, who was an ardent champion of army reforms, and who felt that the only way for Austria to win the struggle with Prussia in the critical days after 1866 was through free, intelligent, and well-ordered progress.

The essay on Emperor Francis Joseph is a masterpiece of character evaluation. Stress is put on the emperor's chivalry, bravery, caution, tact, self-discipline, sense of honor and correctness, and his unshakable faith in the Habsburg house and the mission of Austria.

The last section of the book is probably the most interesting to the general reader. In it the author discusses the historical significance of the ever-changing popular maxims in Austrian history from 1437, when Frederick III first put the letters "AEIOU" on many public buildings, to the collapse of the empire in 1918.

Detailed footnotes, revealing the vast amount of critical research of the author, are appended to all the essays except the one on Francis Joseph. Although the author's Pan-German point of view is apparent in all the articles, it is not as dominant as in some of his other writings. On the whole, the essays in the volume represent the best of that critical scholarship which has made Dr. Srbik the most outstanding Austrian historian of the past generation.

University of Colorado

R. JOHN RATH

THE OPENING OF AN ERA: 1848—AN HISTORICAL SYMPOSIUM.

Edited by *François Fejtö*. With an Introduction by *A. J. P. Taylor*. (London: Allan Wingate; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948, 1950. Pp. xxviii, 444. \$4.50.)

THIS symposium attempts to recapture "the spirit of 1848," "when nationalism was still possible without national hatred and democracy possible without class war." Its eighteen chapters are the contributions of fifteen authors, several of whom are well known but none of whom is identified anywhere in the book, and its primary significance is that it treats not only of well-known events in France, England, Russia, Germany, Italy, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but seeks also to explain what happened in Spain, Belgium, Greece, Rumania, Poland, Bohemia, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. Beyond the Pyrenees there were only faint echoes of revolution; in Belgium and Poland there was no revolution at all. Greece already had a liberal constitution; Switzerland, after 1847, represented "what the revolutionaries hoped to achieve." Russia, most backward of the great powers, and Great Britain, the most advanced, escaped revolution also. The former was the "chief gendarme of the forces of European reaction"; the latter both inspired the revolutionists, and then, through Palmerston's efforts to preserve the balance of power, kept the revolution from spreading.

These essays vary in merit, style, and originality of interpretation. Bury on Great Britain and Fejtö on Hungary are especially well done. May's chapter on the impact of 1848 on the United States, based on his earlier work on American opin-

ion on the revolutions in central Europe, is especially interesting to American readers. Several of the essays contain too much confusing detail; there is some repetition, and one detects occasional overtones of World War II, further proof, if proof were needed, that each generation rewrites history in terms of its own problems and concerns.

A brief summary of the conclusions, found in Taylor's introduction and Fejtő's first and last chapters, must conclude this review. The authors believe that "the revolutions made themselves and the true heroes of 1848 were the masses" and that there would have been no uprisings had revolution depended on the leaders. A hungry and restless Europe provided the necessary background for intellectual radicalism, and when irrepressible social and economic forces collided with obsolete and inflexible political forms, the middle and lower classes turned against incompetent and intransigent governments and produced an explosion. At first, 1848 demonstrated a certain unity in European civilization, and a triumph of liberalism over nationalism. However, when the middle class, frightened by its own aggressiveness, tried to stop the revolution which it had started, the original "united front" broke up into conflicting class interests. The degeneration of nationalism into chauvinism is blamed on the middle class, and during the discussion of "the resurrection of dead races" whose claims conflicted with the earlier internationalism of the revolutionaries, the reader is reminded that Marx never bewailed the fate of small nations. The hostility of England and Russia figures as a major cause of the failure of the revolution, and there seems to be agreement that Europe was less free in 1849 than in 1848. "Republican mysticism" is characterized as one of the "most dangerous delusions" of the time, and several authors stress economic determinism and the potentialities of the emerging proletariat. The revolution brought about an alliance between "the thinkers and the oppressed," but it also laid bare the basic conflict between the desire of the middle class for power, and the aspirations of the still unorganized and inarticulate masses for equality and social justice. Other scholars in the field will probably take exception to some of these interpretations, but all will find these essays rewarding reading.

Western Reserve University

CARL WITKE

THE GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1914-1921. By *A. Joseph Berlau*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 557.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 374. \$4.75.)

THIS book, obviously based on a Ph.D. thesis, presents a solid and very scholarly treatment of the ideas, the policies, and the attitudes of the German Social Democratic party from the outbreak of the First World War to the acceptance of the Versailles treaty. It does not deal with major events after 1919, and the year 1921 in the title is, therefore, somewhat misleading, justified only by the fact that a short chapter at the end of the book discusses briefly the new party pro-

gram of Görlitz (1921). Two introductory chapters trace the origin of the party, and its later development from the Erfurt program (1891) to revisionism.

As to the scholarly character of this study and the author's ability in historical research there can be no doubt. Wherever possible, Dr. Berlau has gone back to primary sources, and his analysis is keen, his weighing of evidence judicious. His note on the *Dolchstoß* theory (appendix 1, pp. 341 ff.) is a little masterpiece in this respect. There are a few places in the book where one may take issue with the author's judgment or conclusions. For example, Dr. Berlau makes much of the fact that the SPD's criticism of wartime policies (food, social conditions in the army, censorship, etc.) "was motivated by opposition to the means employed by the powers-that-be and not by their objectives" (p. 137). That is undoubtedly largely true; but it can also be argued that the only successful way—if there was one—to get anywhere with the authorities in removing those conditions was to point out to them that the measures employed by the government were self-defeating. One may also question whether Hermann Müller's and other SPD members' emphasis on the will to peace of the German people and the negation "of the validity of the concept of power as a determinant for international affairs" (p. 313) was as insincere as the author seems to hold. The judgment that "there is no way to decide whether the vehemence of the SPD in this campaign [against the Versailles treaty] or its dishonesty, whether its pretense or its demagogic-chauvinistic character deserved most attention" (p. 339) might be considered too severe; even if one otherwise (as this reviewer does) fully agrees with the author's verdict on the record of the SPD during and after the war: a record, inexcusable in terms of what the party was supposed to stand for and therefore one long sequence of tragic failures. Factual errors, of which the book is remarkably free, are mostly typographical. One error which should not stand uncorrected is the reference to the French government of 1924 as socialistic, without any qualifying phrase (p. 313, n. 68). Also, in the discussion of Lassalle, mention should have been made of the elements of *Realpolitik* in his make-up and of his will to power—so sorely lacking in the SPD leadership during the World War and the German revolution. The development of the party from 1891 to 1914 should have been linked more strongly with the history of the Second International, in order to achieve a more balanced picture of the German labor movement, and of revisionism during that period. Less justifiable, because it concerns the main body of Dr. Berlau's work, is the absence of any systematic treatment of the USPD after 1918.

In only one major respect is this otherwise excellent study unsatisfactory: it is overcautious in its interpretations, and its conclusions are for the most part merely summaries of the previous presentation. Dr. Berlau sees the issues so clearly that he might have made a much greater contribution to our understanding of the failures of German Social Democracy, had he concentrated his very considerable historical insight on the causes of failure instead of simply listing them. After all, there are vital lessons to be learned and conclusions to be drawn from answers to questions like the following: Why was leadership—any kind of leadership—so

sorely lacking in the German revolution? Why had the major officials of the party such a narrow concept of democracy in 1918-19 that they no longer believed "that democracy means not alone the execution of the will of the majority but that democracy also means leadership with the aim to win the hostile majority for its own camp" (p. 258)? Such questions, however, perhaps ask too much of historical research. And when all is said, there can be no doubt that Dr. Berlau's study, in its own frame of reference and in the limits which the author has set for himself, is a first-rate piece of research by a very promising historian.

Cornell College

ERIC C. KOLLMAN

DIE KOMMUNISTISCHE PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. By *Ossip K. Flechtheim*. (Offenbach a.M.: Bollwerk-Verlag Karl Drott; distributed in U. S. by O. K. Flechtheim, Waterville, Maine. 1948. Pp. xvi, 294. \$4.00.)

DESPITE the already available historical studies on the German Communist party during the Weimar Republic by Arthur Rosenberg, Franz Borkenau, and Evelyn Anderson, Flechtheim has written a very useful book. Its utility, however, lies not in presenting a definitive narrative history or in offering new materials but rather in the remarkably brilliant and penetrating analysis of the role of German socialism contained in the concluding chapters. It is the history of a failure, not merely a tactical or intellectual failure but one that involved the entire party line and which in the end led straightway to disaster. This general party line, pendulating as it did between the Right and the Left, even after it came under the complete control of Moscow and Stalin, never succeeded in defeating the reformism of the Social Democratic party though it did manage to undermine democratic institutions and stir up the German reaction. Actually, the KPD was no more than a fifth wheel on the wagon of the German revolution, but it was its perpetual threat of revolution—which never came—and its persistent refusal to seek a common front with the Social Democrats which roused the German reaction and gave it that terrifying impetus and concentration of energies which enabled the Nazis to destroy the Weimar Republic and along with it the KPD.

It is regrettable that Flechtheim, writing as a liberal historian and having access only to printed sources, did not have before him, while writing his book, Ruth Fischer's *Stalin and German Communism*, also published in 1948. While Flechtheim successfully integrates the role of the KPD with the social and political evolution of the Weimar Republic, Ruth Fischer supplies a full and precise report on the Comintern and Stalin's conquest of the German Communist party at a time when she herself played a leading part. It should be stated that Flechtheim's close and critical reading of the sources frequently leads him to substantially the same conclusions. Yet his volume lacks the richness of dramatic detail, the precise and full account of the Comintern discussions with the Russians which Ruth Fischer's story so admirably supplies. After a close reading of Ruth Fischer's vol-

ume one doubts if it is possible at all to write the history of any Comintern party within the context of its national environment. It would be unfair to say that Flechtheim succumbs completely to this error. It is equally true that Ruth Fischer's more precise and more complete information on these matters supplies a key which his volume lacks. This is nowhere more apparent than in Flechtheim's cursory and somewhat ironical discussion of the debacle of the German Communist revolt of 1923 and of the controversial role of Brandler in this affair. The truth is that neither Stalin nor Brandler believed in the possibility of a successful Communist revolution in Germany in 1923 (although Ruth Fischer did) and that Brandler returned to Germany equipped with a set of contradictory and incoherent instructions which at one and the same time called for a revolution against the Social Democrats and a Communist entry into and co-operation with the Social Democratic government in Saxony. The result was a series of unco-ordinated revolts and complete failure. Equally incomplete is Flechtheim's discussion of the reorganization of the KPD by Stalin's special agent, Manuilsky, after 1925. Briefly, so far as narrative history is concerned, Flechtheim cannot compete with Ruth Fischer's volume in precision and completeness.

This reviewer, however, is quite willing to accept the narrative sections of Flechtheim's book for the sake of his concluding chapters which constitute, in his opinion, the most brilliant, profound, and satisfactory analysis of the entire historical evolution of German socialism which he has yet seen. It is impossible to reproduce here his entire argument, but his method is sociological, comparative, and at once historical in the best sense of these terms. In his concluding chapter Flechtheim abandons the doctrine, stated in his introduction, that the KPD is the most revealing barometer of the evolution of the Weimar Republic in favor of the Social Democratic party (SPD). Here he points out that while Great Britain developed only a reformist labor party and Russia a purely revolutionary socialism, Germany, which lagged behind Britain in the development of a democracy but was in advance of Russia, produced both tendencies. He shows how in its struggle against the militarist and authoritarian imperialist Germany the SPD itself became progressively more authoritarian in its organization and party discipline; how before 1914 it sought to achieve a synthesis of socialism and democracy whereas thereafter it was willing to accept democracy without socialism and abandoned even a determined effort at radical democracy; how this renunciation of both socialism and radical democracy not only did not placate the German reaction but inevitably provoked the Left to commit itself to total socialism and dictatorship; how this fatal identification of the SPD with the conservative Weimar democracy provoked the equally fatal identification of the Communist Left with the Russian October Revolution, which, so argues Flechtheim, would have occurred even without the active intervention of Radek, Zinoviev, and Stalin.

Ohio State University

WALTER L. DORN

IVAN THE TERRIBLE. By *Hans von Eckardt*. Translated from the German by Catherine Alison Phillips. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. 421, xi. \$5.00.)

GERMAN historians have given much time to the study of Russian history, but almost invariably since the mid-nineteenth century they have interpreted it from the point of view of the foreign office, of a Dr. Goebbels propaganda agency, or of Germany's nationalist or imperialist aims or "mission." Eckardt is no exception. The book might have been written in the German foreign office, for which Eckardt worked in the period after the First World War, at any time between 1890 and 1945. *Iwan der Schreckliche*, of which this is a translation, was published in Germany in 1941. According to the jacket "the book, when published, was at once banned and the plates melted," although this reviewer cannot understand why. Hitler or Goebbels could not have objected seriously to it.

The author hails Ivan IV as the first modern Russian ruler, an acclaim that is not warranted by the facts. The former insistence that Peter the Great was the first of the moderns in Russia has long been out of date, but Russia first showed modern interests and tendencies and became a nation-state in the reign of Ivan's grandfather, Ivan III, the Great. Eckardt does not sufficiently credit Ivan IV's foreign policy with pointing the way for Peter I: he speaks of "his crazy conflict with Sweden" (p. 343); and Ivan's interest in Poland and Lithuania was much more than dynastic and religious. There is room in the book for only twelve pages on the social reforms of Ivan IV but for five times that number devoted to philosophizing on human nature, strained references to Shakespeare, whose works Eckardt knows better than he knows Russia, and far-fetched comparisons between Ivan and a host of others. Ivan is like Hamlet, King Lear, Cato, Caligula, Henry VIII, Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, Charles V, the emperor Frederick II, Philip II, Ignatius Loyola, Bernard of Clairvaux, Ivan Kalita, Peter the Great, Nicholas II, and even Joan of Arc. Why not James I, whom Ivan resembled in so many ways?

To make all the corrections that this monument of errors requires would call for as many pages as the book itself contains. None of them is accidental and some seem to be deliberate, but that will not surprise readers who are familiar with Eckardt's earlier distortions. Among too many errors of simple fact the following may be mentioned. "Muscovy knew nothing of Roman law" (p. 13). Justinian's code lay at the base of the *Russkaia Pravda* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and Byzantine influence loomed large in Ivan III's *Sudebnik* of 1497. "The Russians were accustomed to an earlier law of succession by which the throne went to the eldest of the line and after that descended from brother to brother" (p. 35). The *rota* system, which the author has in mind, never affected the succession among the princes of Moscow from the time of the very first of them, Daniel. Kliuchevskii, of whom Professor Eckardt must have heard, pointed that out long

ago. But the author insists (p. 249) that the office of grand prince still descended according to *rota* principles in the time of Dmitry Donskoi. The appanage system was not well established before the Tatar conquest (p. 40), but developed among the successors of Vsevolod of Suzdalia. Even the former appanage princes, who formed only a segment of the boyar class, were certainly not "lords of the various territories and owners of all the patrimonies [who] exercised all the functions of the state" (p. 88). Their attitude was that of landowner and not head of a state whose responsibilities and functions they made no effort to shoulder. The succession rules followed among the appanage princes certainly did not date "from the old Norse days" or grow out of the "German clan system" (p. 252); in fact they were the very opposite of the *rota* system. The Russian noble was certainly not Norse in 1500 (pp. 39, 40, 83, 94), nor had he been for five centuries. The Uniate movement dates from the Council of Brest in 1596 and not from the Council of Florence in 1439 (p. 57), and the patriarchate of Moscow was founded five years after the death of Ivan IV, not during the period of his predecessors, the grand dukes of Moscow (p. 58). The Russian church was autonomous and autocephalous from the time of its founding in the tenth century, not just from the time of Vasili the Dark (p. 363). The old assumption that the Tatars made a deep and permanent impress upon Russia was dispelled so long ago that its resurrection smacks of cheap propaganda. "It is the destiny of Russian history that a man of action . . . should always become a despot, . . . compelled to behave with increasing brutality and ruthlessness, as is, indeed, unavoidable in an environment ruined for centuries on end by the Mongols" (p. 237). In speaking of Russian cruelty Eckardt ponders: "It is hard to say whether this is due to the influence of the Tatar period or whether the East Slavs were always this way inclined" (p. 291). Cruelty is of course no more a Russian monopoly than it was Spanish in the days of Torquemada, French during the Terror, English in the time of William III, or American in the post-Civil War South. The Tatar period did not increase Russian cruelty, as everyone knows, and Eckardt has only to read the Greek and early Roman historians to see in what contempt the East Slavs were held because of their peaceful ways.

There are many errors of interpretation. Finding the roots of the *Zemsky Sobor* in an "ancient Norse custom" (p. 85) is as silly as searching for the origin of the English House of Commons in the German forest. It simply is not true that "before that time [of Ivan IV] there had been no sense of the State, no national consciousness, and no knowledge of history or politics" (p. 28). Such colossal errors do not need refuting. The *oprichnina* was more like the Ku Klux Klan than a band of "Oriental[ized] Russians" (p. 259). The author speaks of the "mission of Germany" (p. 150) as the Teutonic Order carried it out in Lithuanian and Slavic lands and of the "devout spirit" (p. 148) of the German Knights, while abhorring the actions of Ivan III in Livonia: "The devastation carried out by the Russians was fearful, their savagery and blood-thirstiness unimaginable" (p. 149). These

same words have been used by Russian and Polish writers to describe the actions of the Knights in the same territory. If either had the edge in savagery, it lay with the Germans who applied the treatment more systematically. Eckardt treats of Novgorod (pp. 303–17) as though it were a thoroughgoing democracy of free citizens. Actually it had long been an oligarchy ruled by a very few families, most of whose people were economically and politically subject to the wealthy merchants.

Eckardt forgets the spirit of the times, a fatal weakness in a historian, applying twentieth century standards to sixteenth century conduct. He says that “Moscow witnessed with shudders of horror” (p. 199) the executions carried out after the death of Anastasia. Every inhabitant experienced fear that his time might come next, but of outrage and horror at the brutal death of another there was little or none anywhere in Europe at the time. This is the century of the Borgias, of Henry VIII, of Bloody Mary’s fires at Smithfield, of St. Bartholomew’s Day, of the duke of Alva. Public executions meant public entertainment in England until long after the sixteenth century. He speaks of Russian superstition and belief in witchcraft (pp. 83, 293) during the reign of James VI of Scotland and over a century before Salem as though it were peculiar to Russia.

Stephen Graham’s biography of Ivan IV, although not free from error, is much more reliable than this one. Eckardt has failed utterly to understand Ivan and his Russia. The need for a scholarly treatment of “the Terrible” has not been met.

Montana State University

MELVIN C. WREN

THE MARITIME HISTORY OF RUSSIA, 848–1948. By *Mairin Mitchell*. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949, 1950. Pp. xv, 543, maps. \$5.00.)

THERE are some formidable obstacles in the path of any Western historian intent on writing an accurate and comprehensive maritime history of Russia and of the U.S.S.R. The volumes of documents on Russian naval history, known as the *Materials for the History of the Russian Navy*, do not include any documents beyond 1805. Although the historical section of the Central Staff of the Soviet Naval Forces announced in 1946 that this series would be extended, additional volumes have not appeared as yet. Also, there is very little documentary information available in the West on the history of the Russian and the Soviet Union’s merchant marines.

The lack of published documents is not, however, the principal reason for the shortcomings of Mairin Mitchell’s book. Its title is a misnomer: It is not a maritime history of Russia in any accepted sense, but rather a miscellaneous collection of information on seas, rivers, and lakes of Russia and on Russian explorations in the Pacific and in the polar regions, combined with some geopolitical observations. It also contains a fairly detailed discussion of the establishment of the north-

ern sea route and some data on the Russian-American Company. A long section is given to the role of the Soviet fleets in World War II. The pre-Soviet Russian merchant marine is dealt with in some three and one half pages and it is impossible to get a clear picture of the history of the Russian navy from what is said about it. There are, however, some interesting reproductions of old maps, paintings, prints, and a few photographs.

The badly organized volume is peppered with factual errors, some of which show a rather remarkable ignorance of the history of the events discussed. Two examples will have to suffice to illustrate this. On page 316 the author states: "Equally was Catherine opposed to the Continental System of Napoleon, even when allied with him." Considering that Catherine II died before General Bonaparte started on his Egyptian expedition, this is a very surprising assertion indeed.

Secondly, the well-known operation led by Admiral Duckworth in 1807, which was intended to coerce the Porte, had for its goal (so Mairin Mitchell wants us to believe) to prevent Russia from sending "her warships through the Straits to aid Napoleon in his intended invasion of Egypt and Syria" (p. 126). This remark reflects a complete ignorance of the history of the British foreign policy related to the operation. Apparently the author is under the impression that it took place after the Treaty of Tilsit and is obviously unaware of the presence at the time of a powerful Russian squadron in the Adriatic and its later operations in the Aegean under the command of Admiral D. N. Seniavin.

The carelessness with which the volume is organized is evident from the fact that under the heading "Early Explorations" we find information on the German auxiliary cruiser *Komet*, which crossed to the Pacific via the northern sea route during World War II, on Peter the Great's visit to England, and on the battle of Hangöudd.

The maritime history of Russia remains to be written.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

Far Eastern History

THE WESTERN WORLD AND JAPAN: A STUDY IN THE INTERACTION OF EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC CULTURES. By G. B. Sansom. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xvi, 504, xi. \$6.00.)

SIR George Sansom, the Occident's most eminent historian of Japan, has written a monumental study of one of the most significant and interesting phenomena of modern Japanese history, the influence of the Western world prior to the turn of the twentieth century. The wholesale introduction of techniques from the West after the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854 and the rather rapid rise of such modern institutions as a strong centralized state, a national conscript army, a system of universal education and a centralized banking structure have

long aroused the interest of Far Eastern scholars—particularly since other countries of the Orient responded quite differently to the nineteenth century expansion of Europe. But the postwar occupation of Japan makes the subject of Westernization more important than ever. An increasing number of observers are now asking whether we can expect any permanent, basic changes from the present attempts of the allied powers to reform Japan. *The Western World and Japan*, by providing us with a thoughtful treatment of the nature and extent of European cultural influences in Japan before 1894, has thereby added immeasurably to our understanding of fundamental problems of the occupation.

Initially the author planned to limit his investigation entirely to Japan, but feeling that the problem should be viewed in its Asiatic context, he included introductory chapters on the early history of relations between Europe and Asia. The specialist will find huge holes in this first part of the book, but few readers will fail to gain therefrom a clearer grasp of the early interaction of Oriental and Occidental civilizations. In tracing the eastward expansion of Europe—first to India, then to Southeast Asia and China, and finally to Japan—the author emphasizes, in each case, the resistance offered by the Oriental civilizations to the penetration of disturbing foreign influences. Japan offered less resistance, in the period prior to 1600, than either India or China, but even there the Western intrusion was only transitory and eventually resulted in a determined effort, on the part of the Japanese military government, to keep all contacts with the Western world to a minimum.

The heart of the work is Part II, entitled "Japan and the Western World, 1600–1894." The chapters covering the Tokugawa era (1603–1868) add little new information, but the synthesis is superb and the interpretations stimulating. This era, noted for the long period during which Japan voluntarily shut herself off from the outside world, is a strange interlude in the history of Japan's relations with the West, but institutions and ideas developed then that were highly relevant to the course of cultural interaction after the arrival of Perry. The importance of foreign influences in the collapse of the feudal regime has been stressed in European accounts of Japanese history, but Sir George reaches a more sober conclusion: "To overestimate the part played by Western influence is to misunderstand modern Japanese history and in consequence to form an unbalanced if not mistaken view of the relations between East and West" (p. 223).

Almost a craze developed in Japan, from about 1868 to 1888, for things and ideas Western. The period constitutes one of the best laboratory cases in history for a study of the impact of the West upon an Oriental civilization, and the chapters devoted to these two decades are the most valuable portions of the book. Many new and significant details have been supplied, and the author's vivid descriptions and penetrating interpretations provide a clear insight into the way foreign pictures, clothes, manners, ideas, laws, education, and religion affected the lives of the Japanese people. In discussing each subject, whether it be the adoption of for-

eign clothes at the imperial court or the implementation of Western concepts of civil law, the view is advanced that the innovations were not results of the recognition of a superior civilization but rather of an intense desire, felt by large segments of the Japanese population, to strengthen the country in all fields and at all levels. This utilitarianism is seen even in the translation of *Robinson Crusoe*. The translator's preface contains the remark that the story "should not be regarded as trivial, for if men will read it carefully they will see that it shows how by stubborn determination an island can be developed" (p. 398). By about 1888, however, more Japanese were beginning to become skeptical about Western culture, and in 1890 the reaction was epitomized by the Imperial Rescript on Education, which reasserted "the doctrines of ancestor-worship, of filial piety, of loyalty to superiors, and of duty to the state, and [concluded] by affirming that these doctrines go back to an ancient past and are valid for all times and in all places" (p. 465).

By pointing out the continuous resistance of Japan to the introduction of foreign ideas, this book provides an antidote for the popular, sanguine views concerning the possibility of effecting a speedy democratization of Japan. But the whole subject of resistance to acculturation is so complex, and vital that far more study is needed. In order to be more certain as to what our occupation policy should be, and what results can be expected from our efforts, Sir George's excellent study should be supplemented by equally competent investigations of the social factors and forces which account for Japan's traditional resistance to Westernization.

University of California

DELMER M. BROWN

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN THE FAR EAST. By *Pauline Tompkins*, Lecturer in Political Science, Wellesley College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiv, 426. \$5.00.)

EXPLORATION leads to new horizons. Miss Tompkins set out "to explore a field in diplomatic history which had been notably barren of research." In the course of studying and writing the "story of American-Russian diplomacy in the Far East," she came to the conclusion that there is in that story "a history in microcosm of world politics within the ordered anarchy of the balance of power." Convinced, further, that "the twentieth century is . . . a century with an ultimatum: unite or perish" and that "those with earnest convictions . . . have a solemn duty to proclaim them," she has developed two theses concurrently and has produced a book which covers far more territory than is indicated by its title.

There has existed in regard to Russia and the United States a "tradition of friendship." Examining this, Dr. Tompkins finds that there prevailed in fact, and for reasons which she gives, "a negative friendliness," until, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the "setting" for the relations between these countries became one of "rivalry, and the scene, the Far East." To that rivalry, in a "triangular power struggle" in which Japan was the third major participant, from 1914 through

1948, she has given a concentrated and effective attention in connection with which she claims "firsts" for coverage of the subject and period in a single work and for inclusion of source materials from the archives of the Department of State for the years 1918-1932. Result: not alone a "survey and an interpretation" but a series of surveys and a multiplicity of interpretations and judgments. There is incisive though necessarily concise treatment of Japanese-American contacts and conflict; of the Russian Revolution; of the allied intervention in Siberia; of the Washington Conference; of developments thereafter in and regarding China; of Sino-Soviet disputes and American reactions and efforts in relation thereto; of the "Manchurian Incident"; of American recognition of the Soviet Union, which proved to be a "barren gesture"; of the passivity or negativeness of American policy and the positiveness and active pressures of Russian and Japanese policy; of Yalta and its aftermath; of the Allied Council (in and for Japan) and the Far Eastern Commission; of contention regarding Japan and regarding Korea; and of current problems. Not present: treatment of the Dumbarton Oaks and the San Francisco conferences and of contention at and in the United Nations. In conclusion: a denunciation of the "anachronism of national sovereignty" and a plea for world government. Annexed: an excellent selection of pertinent documents (full texts); a good bibliography of works in English and in French; and an adequate index.

On an objectively wrought edifice based on well-done research Dr. Tompkins has imposed superstructures of subjectively inspired, insecurely attached and adjectivally embellished "indictment" and propaganda. Opinions will differ regarding the influence of this combining upon the total effect and effectiveness. It could be that there have been read into the minds of statesmen concepts and reasonings that have been little there, and that in American political thinking and action there really has been accorded to the theory and practice of "balance of power" too little attention rather than too much. Regardless, however, of "lesson" and of "indictment," Dr. Tompkins has written "history" in which it is shown over and over that words, formulas, agreements, appeasement, etc., have been in no sense effective as obstacles to the machinations of governments committed to programs of conquest; she has made a goodly contribution to the mounting mass of material serviceable toward an intelligent apprehending of the political habits of "the Bear that walks like a man."

Washington, D. C.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK

American History

THE PRICE OF UNION. By *Herbert Agar*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1950. Pp. xviii, 750. \$5.00.)

THE provocative title of this book probably gives rise to a variety of expectations in the minds of prospective readers. Whatever the anticipations may be, there

will be few, if any, disappointments. The volume is the work of a brilliant writer and seasoned historian, whose instincts are sharp, whose judgments are sound, and whose industry is adequate. It is a notable achievement to have written a volume big with details, surveying more than a century and a half of American history, that permits the reader to lay it down with a feeling of satisfaction and of confidence in the integrity and ability of the author. The preface presents concisely the author's thesis: to illustrate the birth and growth of a unique political system by interpreting the play of men and events from the inauguration of Washington to the abdication of the first Roosevelt. Mr. Agar has studied the men who built the structure and the forces which impelled them. In two concluding chapters he applies the "findings of the past" to the last forty years, when the low-hanging clouds of political passions make the ceiling too low for the careful historian.

Strong men and weak men in the White House, in cabinet posts, in judicial robes, and in Congress come and go with the beginning and the end of each chapter; and the sum of their successes and failures is a glacier-like drift from a loose federation to a centralized government; from a vaguely conceived president to an executive who became the voice of the people; from a political system that knew nothing of political parties to one in which they "form the heart of the unwritten constitution and help the written one to work." In spite of the fear of the encroaching state inherent in the American people from prerevolutionary days, forces have "caused Leviathan to grow steadily more ponderous." Mr. Agar's relentless pursuit of the logic of events brings him to the challenging conclusion in the final chapter: "Mr. Roosevelt had not created the demand for the paternal state. The proverbially wicked English had done that, by inventing the Industrial Revolution." Again and again in Mr. Agar's pages we are shown how emergencies were matched by men—opportunists and political strategists—like Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts; and conversely we are shown how weak and inept presidents, like Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan, were powerless to maintain party discipline and to give direction to unruly Congresses.

Mr. Agar demonstrates that while the framers of the Constitution thought they were creating a government that would save the country from political parties, they were really creating a government which could not function without political parties. The central theme of his book, therefore, is that the system of political parties has been more potent in determining the form of government than the Constitution itself. It appears that party leaders who debated whether or not certain powers were permitted have worshiped the document more diligently than they have read it. The problems that confronted a nation growing geographically, economically, and numerically could be met only with compromise; and parties were the best instruments of maintaining union. The function of third parties has been to propose new ideas and to goad the conservative major parties into writing them into their platforms. Mr. Agar is thankful for the "saving illogicality" of the

political parties—for their search for bargains and concessions. “Obstruction, evasion, well-nigh intolerable slowness—these are the costs of America’s federal union,” he writes. He cites the fate of the Jeffersonian political philosophy as an example of how the vicissitudes of history override theories of government. Even before Jefferson’s death the inevitable had happened. For those who are puzzled why a country whose national life is rooted in revolution is as politically conservative as the United States Mr. Agar suggests that the answer must take into account the size of the nation and the party system in conjunction with a written Constitution which is subject to interpretation by conservative lawyers, until it is amended by constitutional process or by interpretation according to the understanding of that elusive thing called public opinion.

In addition to other merits, Mr. Agar’s book is notable for penetrating, thumb-nail analyses of character and ability, for judicious selection and discriminating use of printed material, and for dignified approach to the intelligent reader.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

YEARS OF THE MODERN: AN AMERICAN APPRAISAL. Edited by *John W. Chase*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 354. \$3.50.)

THE experienced reader is reasonably shy of symposiums. They are uneven, inconsistent, often mere bundles of platitudes. The first thing to notice about *Years of the Modern* is that it escapes these charges. True, not all contributors agree in the remedies they propose, but in general they agree about the dilemma and about the urgency of the questions it poses. For the note of this book is set by Mr. Sumner Welles’s contrast between the security of the average American around 1900 and the world of apprehension in which he is forced to live today. True, as Mr. Welles points out, the majority of the human race have always lived in insecurity, but it is new for Americans to have to do so. In the poem which gives the book its title, Whitman sees “Freedom completely arm’d and victorious and very haughty, with Law on one side and Peace on the other.”

That faith is shattered. Indeed, at no time before ours in American history could a book like this have been published and reflect so well the spirit of the age. It is not a question of calamity howling; there is no mere giving way to despair. But there is a realization that many of the old, optimistic American dogmas need examination and perhaps discarding, that traditional American attitudes to education, the armed forces, “free enterprise,” the role of the state may be completely obsolete, without the fact being adequately comprehended. Dr. Harrison Brown’s discussion of the barrier between the scientist and society, the failure of the excessively specialized scientist to know what the social and political score is and the failure of the politician and publicist to realize what is involved in the very nature of scientific exploration is one excellent example of this necessary stock-taking. An-

other is the original and disturbing essay of Dr. Reisman on the possible change in the type of American that present society produces and wants to produce. The countrymen of Andrew Jackson today may be imposing a far more complete conformity than any that Tocqueville or Cooper lamented and the role of the "saving remnant" be even more difficult and more necessary. In the same way, Dr. Perry Miller examines the premises of American education and comes to some disturbing conclusions. But that uniformity is not yet imposed by American society, at any rate on these contributors, can be seen by putting side by side such stimulating essays as those of Messrs. Walton Hamilton and J. K. Galbraith.

In so lively and individualistic a collection, contradictions and occasional overemphasis are inevitable. They do not matter, nor do minor slips like the apparent omission of "no" in an argument on page 168. But the charges against the "British" universities of the eighteenth century are surely only valid if applied to the *English* universities. Oxford and Cambridge may have been as dead as Gibbon and Wordsworth found them, but the Glasgow of Adam Smith and James Watt, the Edinburgh of the great medical school were surely as much in the full tide of the Enlightenment as universities can be.

Cambridge, England

D. W. BROGAN

THE AMERICAN MIND: AN INTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN THOUGHT AND CHARACTER SINCE THE 1880's. By *Henry Steele Commager*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 476. \$5.00.)

THE general thesis of this book is that after crossing the watershed of the 1890's and passing a half-century beyond, "the American mind" still remains in certain essential respects the same. This, of course, was to have been expected of a book bearing the present title. Its value lies not in affirming, but in demonstrating, the thesis; and in its providing a unity of theme amidst variety of detail, and a thread of continuity amidst change.

The first chapter of the book expounds "The Nineteenth-Century American," and the last "The Twentieth-Century American." The nineteenth century American was optimistic, disposed to emphasize material goods and to apply quantitative standards, was practical and experimental rather than abstract and doctrinaire, convinced of his superiority to the rest of the world, gregarious, equalitarian, careless, undisciplined, individualistic, lawless (though wedded to his Constitution), puritan in his moral code, romantic, given to humor rather than wit, and patriotically disposed to find heroes rather than villains in his national history.

During the sixty-year period from 1890 to 1950 American society underwent immense changes—from rural to urban, industrial, and technological, from faith to doubt, from security to insecurity, from isolationism to internationalism. But "the American character . . . seems substantially the same . . . the differences are quantitative and material rather than qualitative and moral." Or perhaps it

would be more true to Professor Commager's meaning to say that the American character remains more or less the same, more in its less admirable, and less in its more admirable, traits—manifesting more of conformity, vulgarization, self-indulgence, less of tolerance, equality, and humor. So the book ends on a less hopeful note than that with which it begins—a note of challenge rather than of assurance.

During the journey from 1890 to 1950 we are shown the scene from the car window. To cover sixty years it was necessary to move fast, and it was perhaps a mistake for the author to call our attention to so many features of the landscape, which often produces the effect of a blur rather than a variegated pattern. The author discusses literature, journalism, philosophy, religion, sociology, economics, history, politics, law, and architecture—often both in theory and in practice, and with a catalogue of individuals that descends far below the top echelons of importance.

The term "discusses" is here used advisedly. For this is no recital of facts, but an appraisal not only by the defined standard of Americanism but also by appeal to the author's personal judgment. It will surprise none of his friends or readers to learn that his favorite presidents during the period of which he writes are Wilson and the two Roosevelts; and that among the unsuccessful candidates he gives a high place to Bryan and La Follette. He ranks Edwin Arlington Robinson even above such favorites as Willa Cather and Ellen Glasgow, and far above the "muckrakers," "reformers," "sociologists," "journalists," "satirists," and "irrationalists" such as Norris, Dreiser, Farrell, Masters, Jeffers, and their ilk. His preferred thinkers are James, Dewey, Ward, Veblen, Holmes, and Parrington. He is for Ely and Commons, and the new welfare economics, against the classical theorists. In the visual arts his highest praise is reserved for Louis Sullivan, "the pragmatist in architecture," and Frank Lloyd Wright. These points will suffice to plot the curve of his liberalism.

With the author's bias the present reviewer, at least, has no quarrel; nor with the fact that he shows a bias; nor with the reasons which he gives in its support. It is easy to find faults of omission and emphasis. From a philosopher's point of view, it was a mistake to identify Spencer and Darwin so closely as to be unable to explain why James and Dewey rejected the first and accepted the second. He barely mentions the "common sense realism" which was imported from Scotland, flourished in academic circles for three quarters of a century, and left a lasting imprint on the Presbyterian clergy. His preoccupation with pragmatism leads him to slight the "idealism" of the Kantian school, which was largely transmitted through British thinkers such as the Cairds and T. H. Green, which was still a powerful influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the American adaptations of which were widely disseminated in American colleges through great teachers such as Howison in California and Bowne and his followers in Boston and Los Angeles. Among more recent tendencies the author ignores that "logi-

cal positivism" which, in league with the new science, is the latest fashion among young philosophers.

These may be discounted as the professional cavils of a philosopher. But there is little or no mention of the development of semantics and allied studies of propaganda and public opinion; or of the turning of psychology toward the study of "human" relations; or of the re-examination of the purpose and curriculum of higher education.

The most notable case of underemphasis, in the judgment of the present reviewer, is a comparative neglect of the shift from isolationism to internationalism, with all its manifold repercussions in religion, education, politics, and economics, and in the outlook of the average man.

A book such as this, in which the historian leaves the safer ground of documented statements of fact and roams at large over the unfenced ranges of human experience, is to be valued for the very doubts which it raises. It points all the deeper questions of history and of historical writing. When do human affairs become historically significant? In the realm of ideas should the historian look for vertical eminence, or for horizontal spread? Which is to be stressed, the thinker, or the "thoughts" after they have left the mind of the thinker and become oversimplified and misunderstood in their popular acceptance? In social and cultural history what are the unities to be kept in mind? In what sense does a people have a "mind" and a "character"? The present book is notable not only for its clarity and charm of style, its organization of information and its incidental wisdom, but because it forces the reader to ask himself such questions as these, and to see, or try to see, life whole.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

RALPH BARTON PERRY

THE THEORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By *Howard Mumford Jones*, Harvard University. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 208. \$2.75.)

THIS little book (six lectures delivered at Cornell University) surveys the development of scholarship in American literary history from its beginnings to the present time.

The book suffers from unavoidable brevity. Discussion is focused on "theory," that is, general principles; the author pays less attention to research in the more technical sense. Important fields are omitted partly or altogether, notably research in biography, in special literary genres, in the history of criticism and of the press; little space is devoted to research outside the United States. Even within these limits the analysis is sketchy and not quite unbiased. The author justly stresses the interdependence of literary history and criticism, and wittily flays some modern schools of textual interpretation for their sectarian arbitrariness toward the

past. But he is hardly justified in practically omitting these schools from his own survey of the interwar period, particularly since he himself admits that their scholarship has "altered historical values."

These shortcomings are partly the faults of a pioneering job, however, and do not detract from the real contribution of the book. The value of the history of literary scholarship and the importance of the American field, with its experimental character, are more and more being realized. First to survey the subject from the point of view of the trained historian of ideas, Professor Jones outlines its background and general trends, and shows the interplay of political, social, educational, and scholarly factors in molding its theory and practice. Much space is devoted to the long-lasting discussions of the existence or nonexistence of an "American" literature, and to the reasons why the discipline was so slow in developing as compared to the vigor and independence of American historical research. Especially instructive are the chapters on the fitful but impressive development following the First World War, and the more elaborate portraits of individual scholars, particularly M. C. Tyler and V. L. Parrington. Sometimes the author overemphasizes the uniqueness of American conditions; both early nationalism and literary regionalism have closer parallels in Europe than he seems to think. But he includes much new material on the impact of foreign literary theory and its adaptation to American needs.

Even more important than its established results may be the influence of the book as an incentive to further research. Into the thirty-five pages of notes the author has packed a wealth of material which is only skimmed in the text and which frequently raises new questions. In several places, notably pages 177-78 and 181-82, he lists a number of problems which American research has so far neglected. The extensive bibliographical apparatus also makes the work a handy practical tool, not least to scholars outside the United States. The book undoubtedly will prove important to the development of American literary history. For the first time there is bestowed upon the young discipline the dignity of a tradition, which may be brief and somewhat incoherent but is rich in ideas and problems and has proved to be stimulating far beyond its own field.

University of Oslo

SIGMUND SKARD

THE GREAT WAR FOR THE EMPIRE: THE VICTORIOUS YEARS, 1758-1760. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*, Research Professor of History, Lehigh University. [The British Empire before the American Revolution, Volume VII.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xlviii, 467, xxxvi. \$7.50.)

On all counts this seventh volume of Gipson's monumental history is the most satisfactory to date. It has a unity of theme and of treatment which the three preceding volumes lacked, for, with the exception of a single chapter on the Euro-

pean situation, it concentrates on the great story of the progress of the war in North America. It is better written, with smoother and less involved sentences, than any previous volume. Not that Gipson ever attempts to tell a story in heroic vein, as many others writing about the thin red line on the Plains of Abraham have done. In the middle of his rather spirited account of that action, he stops to ask and to answer a critical question. He can be labeled, by no means disparagingly, as a historian's historian.

Above all, Gipson's treatment is illuminated by a point of view. Reviewers of earlier volumes have discerned, often with misgivings, the new interpretation he is bringing to a field long dominated by Parkman and Bancroft. He is saying, now and then in too exaggerated a form, that the fourth French and Indian war ought to be called "The Great War for the Empire." The importance of colonial participation in a war thus broadly envisaged he reduces to proportions in harmony with the facts. This war was won by British fleets, by British regiments with the assistance of colonial troops, and by British money. That Gipson expends much space in this volume in twice evaluating at length the exact contribution made by various colonial assemblies to the war is probably groundwork for future conclusions about events in the 1760's. We are promised, indeed, that colonial attitudes toward Great Britain will be amply dealt with in volumes to come. When that is done, and the character of colonial opposition is narrated, with as much attention to individual opinions as the sources permit, much of the criticism directed against Gipson will disappear. Up to this point he has felt impelled, seeing the whole canvas of an expanding empire, to relate events from the point of view of British high command.

The greater part of this volume deals with military history, which Gipson defines, as did Fortescue, as a history of campaigns. On the preparation of the instrument of final victory, the army itself, its training, personnel, and supply, he has little to say. Grand questions of strategy he discusses at length, and well, and the various actions are related in considerable detail. Of Wolfe's conduct in the field as a commanding officer he is extremely critical, regarding the successes at Louisbourg and at Quebec as the result of fortunate breaks for which Wolfe was not responsible. Amherst's abilities he does not appraise; that level-headed and cautious man remains an enigma still. Loudoun emerges as a competent and greatly underestimated soldier.

Gipson has now two major achievements to his credit. His first three volumes presented the only full survey to be found anywhere of the British Empire in the 1740's. This seventh volume is the best history yet in print of the final conquest of Canada. The publishers are to be commended for continuing to produce, in such fine format and in spite of rising costs and narrow markets, a work of so pronounced a significance for American history.

Newberry Library

STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE RELUCTANT REBELS: THE STORY OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-1789. By *Lynn Montross*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. viii, 467. \$5.00.)

The Reluctant Rebels may perhaps best be described as a streamlined version of Edmund C. Burnett's *The Continental Congress*. In both books the period and subject matter are nearly the same; Mr. Montross adds a few introductory chapters dealing with the beginnings of the revolutionary movement, but in general his theme, like that of Mr. Burnett, is the rise, decline, and fall of the Continental Congress. Mr. Montross has been content for the most part to follow closely in the footsteps of other historians and he has not used newspapers or other sources not immediately available in any good reference library. He has, however, employed printed sources extensively, particularly the collections edited by Burnett, Ford, and Wharton. The result, as might be expected, is a volume which will attract scholars neither by the novelty of its views nor by the registration of new facts. Unfortunately, it lacks the stylistic brilliance which might set apart a book of this nature.

In a generally exact and painstaking narrative, there are a few factual slips and dubious judgments that will not escape the scrutiny of scholars. For example, Mr. Montross states that "Parliament passed the Stamp Act without any intimation that it would offend Americans"—a point upon which any good text might have set him right. He is under the impression that the term "Continental" was in 1774 "as bright as a newly minted guinea" whereas actually it had been long applied to the English colonies on the mainland to distinguish them from the West Indies. He pictures Button Gwinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, wearing "a brighter halo than that great patriot John Dickinson, whose conscience did not permit him to sign." In what sphere the halo of Button Gwinnett shines so dazzlingly, Mr. Montross does not say: certainly it is not in the histories of the American Revolution where Dickinson is seldom denied the credit his talents deserved and Button Gwinnett is consigned to the comparative obscurity of having been "among those present." As to Washington's place in history, Mr. Montross enthusiastically awards him the full measure of greatness, including "a lonely position as one of the world's greatest political thinkers."

The Reluctant Rebels reveals how much can be done by a capable amateur with the printed sources relating to the period of the Revolution and Confederation. This is a tribute not only to Mr. Montross but to the generations of scholars whose industry and editorial skill have made these sources available to historians.

Stanford University

JOHN C. MILLER

THE VOICE OF THE OLD FRONTIER. By *R. W. G. Vail*, Director, New-York Historical Society, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 492. \$15.00.)

WHEN a careful compiler brings together a good bibliography of an important field of history, historians everywhere have reason to rejoice; when he presents that bibliography in *chronological order*, historians should rejoice doubly, for then half their work is done for them and they can perceive the whole sweep of a movement by merely turning the leaves of another man's work. Mr. R. W. G. Vail, the scholarly director of the New-York Historical Society, has performed that service in *The Voice of the Old Frontier*, a chronological bibliography of the literature written on the frontier and about the frontier in the period before 1800. Mr. Vail prefaces his bibliography with three stimulating and entertaining lectures delivered on the Rosenbach Fellowship at the University of Pennsylvania in 1945-46.

The scope of the bibliography is best described in the compiler's own words:

The bibliography . . . will . . . attempt to record a selection of the works written by those living on the frontier of what is now the United States or by agents interested in the promotion of frontier lands, the first edition of which appeared not later than 1800. It will omit voyages and travels by non-residents, military, political, and religious controversial literature which does not also contain accounts of frontier life or which was not closely concerned with the promotion of the sale and settlement of frontier lands. The bibliography omits the Jesuit Relations, Indian treaties, and material on the Spanish Southwest, for which adequate bibliographies already exist.

Within the framework outlined, Mr. Vail has presented a comprehensive well-described list of the most significant writings on the moving frontier, from Jamestown to the opening of the Middle West.

A surprising amount of new material, hardly known even to the specialist, may be found listed in Mr. Vail's bibliography. Among the obscure but valuable items are many narratives of Indian captivities, some of them unrecognizable from their titles, as for example, *A Pocket of Prose and Verse . . . of Alexander Kellet* (Bath, 1778), which contained, among other things, an account of the "sufferings of David Menzies, surgeon, among the Cherokees." Perhaps Mr. Vail's most important service is in bringing to the attention of historians rare works known only to a few bibliophiles. Since he locates the books in a selected list of libraries and gives the number of pages, the reader can sit comfortably in his study and order these items in microfilm or photostat and know approximately what his fresh information is going to cost him.

The three prefatory lectures are highly instructive as well as amusing. The first describes a significant lot of personal narratives of pioneers, not omitting a few picturesque rascals. In the second lecture, which deals with accounts of Indian captivities, Mr. Vail points out the extraordinary number of such narratives written before the end of the eighteenth century. "In spite of their elusiveness," he writes, "the late Frank C. Deering was able to collect some 750 editions of various captivities. The late Edward E. Ayer found 482 editions of the stories of 237 dif-

ferent captives, now in the Newberry Library." Although Mr. Vail cannot begin to list all of these, he does mention many accounts unknown to most of us. The third of his lectures describes the literature of real estate promotion, a subject which produced some of the purplest passages in early American writing. Mr. Vail's lectures, read in connection with his bibliography, will be informative and stimulating to the most thorough specialist in the field of American expansion. Though no fault of Mr. Vail's, it is a pity that so valuable a book, particularly one that sells for fifteen dollars, could not have been presented in a better format. The copy which reached this reviewer was already falling apart from its flimsy binding.

Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THIS RECKLESS BREED OF MEN: THE TRAPPERS AND FUR TRADERS OF THE SOUTHWEST. By *Robert Glass Cleland*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xv, 361, xx. \$4.00.)

HERETOFORE Dr. Cleland's historical books have been limited to a treatment of affairs in California and have dealt with many phases of life. In this volume, however, the author has preferred to limit his treatment to a single kind of frontier life, that of the fur trappers and traders, at the same time expanding the geographical scope of the work to include a vast area which he calls the Southwest.

His Southwest is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean and on the other sides by a great sweeping arc extending from the mouth of the Columbia River to Jackson Hole in Wyoming, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the top of the Gulf of California. This vast region was once supposed to have been little visited by the mountain men. Dr. Cleland clearly demonstrates that they were in fact very active throughout the Southwest.

His first chapter describes the life of the trapper and of the animals they hunted as well as their weapons, strategy and tactics, their diet, clothing, transportation, hunting and trapping methods, their cookery, camp-keeping, their pastimes, all of which amounted to a unique and very dangerous way of life. Devoted as most of these men were to the wilderness, many of them were well educated or at least well read. Every camp contained some well-thumbed books either of knowledge or of literature.

Most of the prominent mountain men are mentioned and Dr. Cleland goes to some pains to celebrate one neglected explorer, Joseph Reddeford Walker, who has hitherto, he believes, suffered undeserved neglect. The scope of the book does not permit much in the way of biography. But we do find graphic accounts of the explorations and wanderings of Jedediah Smith, James Ohio Pattie, Joaquin (Ewing) Young, with good accounts of the trade to California and the struggle between partisans of the Hudson's Bay Company and American mountain men.

Dr. Cleland quotes freely from little known authorities, brings in much fresh information and takes his stand in most of the many controversial matters in this

field. His interpretations and many flashes of insight make the reading of this book a pleasure.

Like his other works this is written in a scholarly, quiet, but interesting way. He has plentifully illustrated the book with old prints, facsimiles of documents and good photographs; the frontispiece is a color plate. The apparatus includes a good bibliography and an adequate index. It is not easy to see how any scholar in this field or indeed any lover of frontier days and ways could fail to add this volume to his shelf.

University of Oklahoma

STANLEY VESTAL

STEAMBOATS ON THE WESTERN RIVERS: AN ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL HISTORY. By *Louis C. Hunter*. With the Assistance of *Beatrice Jones Hunter*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 684. \$10.00.)

THE steamboat, the Conestoga wagon, the Concord coach, the canal barge—these all have a secure place in the American past. They were the means by which a continent was penetrated, and by which its settlement and development were begun. Now all are gone, while faster and more efficient means of transport make a network on and above the land. Of the pioneer carriers the steamboat persisted longest, but even it lasted no longer than a human lifetime.

Though the steamboat originated in the East, it was the trans-Appalachian West—without roads and with great distances to traverse—that most needed a new mode of transportation. And it was in the West that the steamboat found its future. "The invention of the steamboat," declared a writer in the *Cincinnati Gazette* in 1815, "was intended for us." Beyond the eastern mountains the river routes were the great avenues of trade and travel until after the Civil War. No other country in the world had so vast an inland basin, and nowhere was there so extensive a river system as that which drained the Appalachian and the Rocky Mountains into the Gulf of Mexico. In the 1840's Major Long of the Topographic Engineers mapped a total of 16,000 miles of rivers, between Pennsylvania and Montana, navigable for steamboats.

Travel in the American interior has long been a subject of intense interest to historians and to the general reader as well. Few other aspects of our history have had a wider appeal. The significance of the steamboat has long been familiar; many writers have contributed to its literature. But not until now has the subject received its definitive treatment.

Professor Hunter has written about the steamboat on the interior rivers from every angle—mechanical and technological as well as social and economic. He has traced the rapid growth of steamboating and its even more rapid decline with a wealth of detail and specific instance. To a highly readable text he has added scores of tables. His book is a model of organization. It carries an impressive lading

of information all stowed away so snugly that there is never a tremor of unbalance. Every aspect of steamboat enterprise is here in what seems an inevitable order and proportion.

Besides a thorough account of the personnel, the financial operation, and the mechanical problems of steamboating, Professor Hunter treats his subject in relation to its social background. He shows that attempts to gain exclusive rights on western rivers were defeated by the frontier conception of the great rivers as common highways of the West. He points out the diversity of enterprise, by which steamboats were locally built and owned and operated, with no important corporate organization until after the Civil War. The steamboat was a frontier product, and it did not readily submit to "big business" operation.

With abundant detail this book traces the structural evolution of steamboats from early craft like the *Paragon* and the *Tuscorora* (splendid in 1820) to the giant *J. M. White* and *Great Republic* of the final period. By mid-century, American steamboats were unparalleled in speed, size, and beauty by river steamers in any other country. In these years designs of Ohio River boats were copied in India, and a Pittsburgh firm built vessels for the rivers of South America, Russia, Mongolia, and Egypt. The steamboat, Professor Hunter declares, was the most notable achievement of our industrial infancy.

All the chapters of this book are filled with fresh and specific detail, but certain chapters contain information that has not been assembled before. In a careful account of steamboat ownership the author points out the differences between transient (tramp), packet (schedule), and line (fleet vessels on regular schedule) boats making up the river trade. A valuable picture of immigrant travel and of frontier society is presented in the chapter on "Deck Passage." A motley company of people along with poultry and livestock traveled on deck, amid fuel and cargo, at an average fare of one fourth of a cent a mile. They suffered from exposure to weather, from plague, from the danger of collision and explosion, but for forty years they thronged the lower deck of steamboats. Just a layer of plank flooring separated them from cabin passengers in the plush and mirrored halls.

When the first railroad trains rocked along on primitive roadbeds, they seemed no threat to the lordly steamboats. The early railroads were "stub" lines, tributary to or joining the waterways and dependent on them. But when the railroads became an interconnected system, the locomotives whistled in another key and the day of the steamboat was ending. It all happened in the span of one man's life—from the voyage of the *New Orleans* in 1811, through 2,000 miles of busy river from Pittsburgh to the gulf, to the empty reaches of the rivers at the end of the century.

An elaborate statistical appendix, a thorough index, and some well-chosen photographs add to the usefulness of this distinguished book.

Miami University

WALTER HAVIGHURST

WELLS FARGO: ADVANCING THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. By *Edward Hungerford*. (New York: Random House. 1949. Pp. xvi, 274. \$3.75.)

U. S. WEST: THE SAGA OF WELLS FARGO. By *Lucius Beebe* and *Charles Clegg*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1949. Pp. 320. \$7.50.)

In the 1840's, two lively young upstate New Yorkers named Henry Wells and William Fargo were doing well in the business of handling parcels for their region, by way of the eastern railroads. A third, John Butterfield, was more or less paralleling their operations, chiefly over one railroad, the New York Central. There was still no company called Wells, Fargo; these young fellows were merely moving into and out of various combinations, learning their business.

In 1850, when it became clear that the California gold rush meant expansion to the West, and when statehood for California gave some support to the belief that this expansion would be a solid one, the three rivals got together to form the American Express Company. They were looking in the direction of the Pacific Coast, where Adams and some smaller companies were already earning fine profits. But for the time they were content to develop slowly, making sure that the California boom would not fizzle. By the spring of 1852, they had made up their minds. American Express would continue its business in the East and in the Middle West. For California a new company would be formed. In March of that year, Henry Wells and William Fargo, retaining their useful connections with American, formed Wells, Fargo & Company. By July they had an office open and ready for business in San Francisco, and a name was launched that was to be enormously significant in the new West.

In these two books, the authors have approached their subject from widely different directions.

The late Mr. Hungerford, once an employee of Wells Fargo, saw his task as a sober company history. In his book he carries the story in careful detail down to 1948, explaining the intricate deals with the growing network of western railroads, following the development of the banking end of the business, which eventually was separated entirely from the express side of it, and finally clarifying the complex workings of Wells Fargo of Mexico, which remains in the express business but has added highly profitable sub-enterprises in the way of tourist-travel bureaus, hotels, and, in co-operation with John Deere and Studebaker, a chain of Mexican outlets for farm equipment and the like. In general Mr. Hungerford chose to avoid the merely romantic—though he found he could not avoid certain colorful tidbits concerning western bandits and banditry—and stuck to the company's business story. This story he has told, for the most part accurately if in a somewhat pedestrian prose. Least reliable are the author's bandit chapters, in which he employs little discrimination in selecting and weighing sources, accepting with equanimity accounts which disagree, and frequently reproducing even these with embroideries of his own.

The Beebe-Clegg approach is frankly romantic. Mr. Hungerford's volume has two simple maps and sixteen pages of illustrations, several of these being simply studio portraits of one or another of the men who served as officers of the company at one time or another. The Beebe-Clegg book, on the other hand, comes close to being a picture album of the heroic Far West in its early phases. As the subtitle suggests, Messrs. Beebe and Clegg have thought of their narrative as a saga of sorts, and their story is far less a company history than a succession of brightly sketched backgrounds against which Wells Fargo drivers and messengers perform great deeds. In consequence, the two books supplement one another, competing only in their bare outlines. Perhaps the best single feature of the Beebe-Clegg story is its emphasis on Wells Fargo's part in the life of the latter-day Nevada gold-camps of the late 1890's and early 1900's—Tonopah, Rhyolite, Goldfield, Bullfrog, Rawhide, and a few more—a region and a period far less written about than the gold-bearing California foothills of 1848–1860, which have been pretty thoroughly plucked out by historians and feature writers.

If the Hungerford book is on the heavy-footed side, the Beebe-Clegg work represents the other extreme, the authors employing a half-facetious rope-skipping style which too often disguises the pains to which they have gone to get their facts. Some errors in the first edition have been corrected in later printings, there is a useful Wells Fargo chronology (pp. 304–10), a highlighted bibliography, and an index which might profitably be expanded to twice its length. One of the best things about the book is the care with which the captions accompanying the pictures, almost all of them precise and detailed, have been written and checked.

San Francisco, California

JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON

BACKWOODS UTOPIAS: THE SECTARIAN AND OWENITE PHASES OF COMMUNITARIAN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA: 1663–1829. By *Arthur Eugene Bestor, Jr.*, Associate Professor of History, University of Illinois. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the American Historical Association. 1950. Pp. xi, 288. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Bestor has for some years been making a study of the communitarian movements in the United States. This is one of several books which will doubtless be the result of the research, which has been detailed and painstaking. Both European and American sources have been examined and the annotation and bibliography give evidence that nothing has been neglected to make the account, especially that of Owenite and Fourieristic societies, exhaustive. This publication will, therefore, be of great value to those interested in the source material on the social thought of the period.

The subtitle, however, is misleading, for the attention paid to the sectarian and pre-Owen movements is very slight. Sixty pages were deemed sufficient for a description of all other phases of the American communitarian societies existing be-

fore, or different from, those established according to the teachings of Robert Owen, and this despite the fact that some of them, notably those of the Shakers, were much longer lived, more numerous, larger in numbers of adherents, more productive economically, and with a rich and varied cultural and religious history. It is obvious that Mr. Bestor's major interest is in the transfer of the utopian socialism of Owen and Fourier to the United States and that he looks upon the sectarian communities as of little significance except as they contributed a sort of background or prepared the way for the later much less permanent and in many ways less interesting socialistic settlements based on the European utopian ideas. The sectarian phases of the early American communitarian settlements (and we are indebted to Mr. Bestor for that very useful word) have, however, a wide literature of their own, and there are monographs of some sort for many of them. Perhaps that explains the author's concentration upon Owen and his work.

Professor Bestor has given us, certainly, much needed material on the Owenite movement and offers a very credible explanation for its popularity in America, its weaknesses, and its early collapse. The chapter on Robert Owen's view of society is valuable and covers much of English and European reaction to the Industrial Revolution. It serves also as an introduction to the complex personality of Owen himself, on which was to depend in large measure the success or failure of his American experiment. That a captain of industry with a fortune made by his own effort should have turned social reformer with a complete disregard for the practical economic problems for which his training might have given him understanding is one of the enigmas of social history. Perhaps a generation that witnessed Henry Ford's peace mission to Europe should feel no surprise at the vagaries of an earlier industrialist!

The participation in the New Harmony movement of Owen's two interesting sons and the importance of the galaxy of educators and scientists who were attracted by his eloquence are given excellent treatment. In many ways the work of William Maclure was of more significance than that of Owen himself in making New Harmony a point of importance in American social and cultural history. Professor Bestor has already given us some of the best evidence of that fact in his publication of the Maclure-Fretageot correspondence. Many of the European-born scientists who joined Owen and Maclure remained in the United States to contribute to the scientific knowledge of the young republic. On the other hand most of them had arrived prior to Owen, and it is difficult to see that their brief association with him had much to do with their subsequent work. The experiments along the line of education at New Harmony served to advance American interest in the ideas, already known in this country, of Pestalozzi and Fellenburg and served as antecedents for the Alcott and Brook Farm schools, although much of the spread of such ideas in America must be attributed to the information brought back from Europe by the steady procession of American young men returning in the 1820's and 30's from student years in Germany. And the spread of interest in

science in America was in progress and furthered by too many other agencies to make emphasis upon the New Harmony contribution profitable.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the one on New Harmony as a study in dissonance. The causes for the failure of the movement have never been more closely analyzed. The final chapter on the Owenite legacy is less convincing. The enthusiasm for Owenism had been based largely upon ideas that Americans already had, and when New Harmony had had its brief day American social thought had gained something from that experience, but neither the experience nor the gain was tremendous. The life of New Harmony was short, as was that of the few societies created as a result of Owen's example. The one that Professor Bestor labels as "a relative success" lasted less than four years. He includes in this chapter a discussion of Frances Wright's Nashoba, which owed little to Owen, and mentions a society founded by James M. Dorsey in 1816 without benefit of Owen. We are, however, much in Mr. Bestor's debt for the names and accounts of the brief lives of these attempts to implement the ideas and theories brought to America by Robert Owen or crystallized by American enthusiasm for the New Harmony. Heretofore there has been much confusion as to these communities. American interest in new ideas has always been easy to arouse, however, and any famous foreigner has been able to attract an enthusiastic following, as witness the excitement caused by the arrival of Louis Kossuth in 1850. The case for Owenism as an important part of American interest in social experimentation does not seem to me to have been proved. It was but one straw blowing in a wind that gave direction to many other such indications of concern with social problems. Old John Humphrey Noyes who placed emphasis upon the relation between religion and social reform came nearer to an understanding of American pre-Civil War social thinking.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

YOUNG AMERICA, 1830-1840. By *Robert E. Riegel*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 436. \$5.00.)

DURING the decade of the 1830's the painter Henry Banvard was at work on a panorama of the Mississippi River a quarter of a mile long to be turned on rollers before an audience. The result must have been an impressive spectacle which saved the onlooker the inconvenience of making the trip himself, and Bostonians paid over \$50,000 in a seven-month period to view it. But it must also have been somewhat cursory in the treatment of details and have sacrificed something in terms of focus. Mr. Riegel's panoramic and impressionistic book is in some respects comparable to Mr. Banvard's painting.

The volume covers with deft touches every significant topic of American social life in its economic setting during a rather restricted period, with divisions entitled "Americans," "At Work," "At Home," and "At Play." Mr. Riegel sees this

as a peculiarly transitional period, with forces of sectional alienation gathering for the armageddon of the 1860's and others pointing toward the eventual triumph of an industrialized urban order. Above all it was a period in which multiplying speculative schemes and burgeoning reform movements stood together in an unprecedented urgent awareness of the future and the belief that energy and determination could quickly win riches for the individual or utopia for society. A preliminary chapter forecasts each theme to be developed in subsequent chapters in the manner of an operatic overture. Then the reader is taken on a flying trip through each of the major sections, introduced to the principal immigrant newcomers, thoughtfully views the expanding frontier in comparison with the changing farm and developing plantation, and then considers business and labor, transportation, home life, the ideal and reality of the genteel female, education, religion and reform, medicine and science, recreation, and art and literature.

Statistics and interpretation are held to a minimum, but generalizations and adjectives abound, and apt and excellently reproduced illustrations aid the text. Footnotes refer largely to contemporary materials, but on the whole the book gives the effect of integrating the materials to be found in the secondary works given in the bibliography rather than introducing much that is new. Few of its viewpoints, therefore, are likely to be immediately challenged. It is a useful book, objective and temperate in attitude, and written in an easy literary style. There are moving passages on the treatment of the Indians and the life of frontier garrisons. An impression remains of the crassness and hypocrisy of a period in which evangelical and even mawkish religious sentiments seemed not at all to inhibit unscrupulous striving for material gain. Humorous asides sometimes carry an echo of the men's college classroom, and sex is not only dealt with frankly but on occasion seems just a bit intrusive. But perhaps this impression is due to the fact that the reviewer teaches in a coeducational institution and may even be a fuddy-duddy.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

THE PEABODY SISTERS OF SALEM. By *Louise Hall Tharp*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. x, 372. \$4.00.)

THIS book is full of good things, and deserves a more careful reading than it is likely to receive from the wide audience of a Book of the Month Club. Unfortunately the first chapter, "Cuba Journey," is the least convincing of the whole volume, for it smells of that imaginative biography which the late and unlamented Mr. Ludwig first made popular about twenty-five years ago. Both in chronology and character this chapter is out of place.

The author has read widely in her sources, and used them well, on the whole. She writes well. The protest that the persons described would not be altogether pleased with the pictures of their personalities lacks merit; would Samuel Johnson have endorsed Boswell, or would Napoleon have bowed to the verdict of the

definitive biography by Fournier? Truth is, the dead hand of descent makes some history and most biography so much stuff and nonsense because of cautious anxiety to avoid offense to the living. Many of the characters in this book, like all of us, were often sentimental, sometimes mistaken, and even humanly imperfect. Others, like Bronson Alcott, were preposterous figures of fun. Yet the fact remains, and the author makes it evident, that the Peabody sisters of Salem, Elizabeth, the spinster, Mary, Mrs. Horace Mann, and Sophia, Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne, were three remarkable women.

Specialists will inevitably find errors in a book of this scope, covering, as it does, almost the whole of the nineteenth century, and dealing with numbers of important people who contributed to the literature of the great days of the crowded glory of New England. It is easy to be accurate and dull; it is not difficult to be amusing and unreliable. Apart from certain disputed points and trivial errors, Mrs. Tharp seems to be both accurate and interesting. Yet there is reason to believe that the wife of Horace Mann was in Yellow Springs, Ohio, after all, when her husband died there as the first president of Antioch College; and Elizabeth Palmer, the mother of the three sisters, was not certainly the irritating and possessive parent which the author would have us believe. We must learn to wear our Sigmund Freud with a difference. If William Francis Channing was never a member of the Congress (p. 292) it is refreshing to find that Mrs. Tharp does not stoop to print a repetition of the scandalous sectional legends about Polk and the Mexican War. Anyone already suspicious of the hypocrisy which surrounded the person of the fanatical John Brown and the attack on Harpers Ferry will enjoy this author's sketch of the reaction in New England (pp. 282-85).

Mrs. Tharp is genuinely skillful and nearly always successful at portraying persons and places. Readers with a sense of humor cannot fail to enjoy her account of the joint enterprise of Elizabeth Peabody and Bronson Alcott, called the Temple School, or her delightful description of Hawthorne's summer at Brook Farm. One glimpse of the Brownings in Florence is memorable, together with a seance of foolish females trying to talk with spirits by means of tipping a table. James T. Fields is handled without gloves, and his second wife, Annie Adams, is taken down from her pedestal and given a thorough dusting. The comic-opera attempt to capture Sanborn at Concord in 1860 and the pathos of the last dreadful days of Hawthorne are reported with humor and pity.

The real heroine of this book is the redoubtable Elizabeth, the eldest sister, the spinster, and the public pest for good causes. Professional agitators are of two kinds, and people confuse the two at their peril—persons of good will and hope, and persons of ill will and envy. Our present misfortune is to suffer from many of the latter, and to see few of the former. Elizabeth's unconquerable hope for humanity was heroic, and when she died at eighty-nine her aged eyes were still like stars, if somewhat dim. Moving about in the sacred triangle bounded by hope between highways of Salem, Boston, and Concord, she made the welfare of the

whole world her personal responsibility. If she was lacking in that sense of proportion which is the base of humor—in 1861 she called on Lincoln to give him advice as to the proper way to win the war—she got a great deal done in her long lifetime. Mrs. Tharp disposes of this amazing incident with one neat sentence: “Mr. Lincoln took time to listen to her and she in turn revised her opinion of his fitness for his task” (p. 291). Yet, Elizabeth Peabody was comparatively safe, for she did not know how to laugh at herself.

Those who read many books will call this one great; those who read very few will grant that it is good.

Massachusetts Historical Society

STEWART MITCHELL

TWO FRIENDS OF MAN: THE STORY OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND WENDELL PHILLIPS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Ralph Korngold*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 425. \$5.00.)

If Mr. Korngold accomplishes nothing more with his new book, he will have stirred fresh interest in a subject which merits recurrent investigation. *Two Friends of Man* has been written to be read, as it will be. The present writer has found lay reactions to the book interesting, particularly in their willingness to reconsider the contributions to antislavery of Garrison and Phillips, as well as Lincoln; there seem, at present, to be no popular competitors to these three, though *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is, of course, recalled.

The faults in Mr. Korngold's work are obvious and can be briefly noted. His studies have been vagarious and largely second-hand; all the familiar phrases and incidents have been dutifully exploited; he has dealt insufficiently with the anti-Garrison arguments embodied in substantial works, has been content to record dramatic speeches out of full historical context, and has himself written for effect rather than genuine persuasiveness. The book contains a wide assortment of casual errors and no documentation worth noting.

On the other hand, Mr. Korngold has written with a feeling for character and human interest which better-founded writers in the field might notice. He has read widely, if not thoroughly. He has tried to see his subjects objectively; for example, he is aware of Garrison's youthful indifference to the slavery question, of the fact that others preceded his hero in advocating “immediate” emancipation, and of the dubious quality of his nonresistance principles. Finally, Mr. Korngold has evinced an earnestness and vitality not to be found in other popular works in the field of liberalism which have been praised by scholars in scholarly publications, presumably because their authors' hearts were in the right place.

Mr. Korngold's major contribution has been to revive for consideration serious problems which deserve the attention of scholars and laymen both. On this score, he can be neither patronized nor legitimately ignored. Thus, he may seem exces-

sively partial to his subjects, and to ignore data and personalities which might conflict with his theme. However, more seemly scholars have erred in the opposite direction; and if, for example, Mr. Korngold is unconvincing in portraying Garrison as the unchallenged leader of the abolitionist forces mobilized in the 1830's, it remains to be determined whether studies which attempt to reduce him to insignificance are more correct. Undoubtedly, the author makes more of the propaganda of Garrison and Phillips during the 1840's and 1850's than it merits; but then, his book is about Garrison and Phillips, whose picturesque attitudes and opinions not only make striking reading but give some impression of truth. Will anyone, indeed, deny that Garrison's opening gun in the *Liberator* is an immortal statement of purpose, or that Phillips' eloquence will endure? They may well have helped to maintain the moral principle of antislavery in a time of heavy politics and confused aims. And if we smile at Mr. Korngold's interpretation of Garrison's influence during the war years ("As President of the American Anti-Slavery Society Garrison managed to put the weight [*sic*] of the organization's support behind the President" [p. 287]), we have still to determine what relative power was wielded by any of the groups pressing the antislavery crusade.

It is likely that there can be no final determination of influence or correctness of tactics in a way which will satisfy all students, but it may be hoped that the issue of antislavery and its abolition component may be better joined, and the problems involved better formulated for investigation.

Antioch College

LOUIS FILLER

EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM, 1769-1844. By *Wade Crawford Barclay*.

Volume I, MISSIONARY MOTIVATION AND EXPANSION. [History of Methodist Missions, Part I.] (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 1949. Pp. xli, 449. \$3.50.)

DR. Barclay has projected a "History of Methodist Missions" of which this is the first volume. Five additional volumes covering the missionary endeavors and world outlook of the three principal branches of the denomination are promised. The author's theme is that the spirit and genius of the Wesleyan revival are missionary in character and that this character "was a natural and almost inevitable outgrowth of its fundamental doctrine of universal redemption." This appears to be a sound conclusion.

The Wesleyan tradition was carried into America by Bishop Coke, who, not satisfied with confining his endeavors to the American states, sought to establish missions in Africa, Ceylon, Java, India, the Channel Islands, and the West Indies, and even among the Roman Catholic peasants of Ireland.

Even more than in Britain, Methodism in America needed to be an expansive organization with a missionary outlook that could meet the needs of a very fluid and rapidly moving population. It must be admitted that no other church ever de-

vised a more effective method of meeting the needs of a new country than the Methodist itinerancy. At the same time, the centralized organization of the church under the absolute domination of the bishops kept the Methodists out of line with the democratic spirit and tendency of the first half of the nineteenth century. It was this which caused the first serious split and gave rise to the Methodist Protestant movement in the 1830's.

Much of Dr. Barclay's first volume is concerned with a conventional account of the introduction, the organization, and the spread of Methodism in America. It is a thoroughly sympathetic account, as might be expected. The harsh judgments passed upon the Anglican Establishment in Virginia, where Methodism found fruitful soil, will not be acceptable to the latest historiographers of the colonial church. As is usually customary and possibly necessary among denominational historians, Dr. Barclay's sources are almost entirely limited to his own group. The question arises whether or not any other worth-while body of sources exists or whether they would contribute anything that would substantially alter the conclusions. Certainly in England the amount of anti-Methodist literature that was provoked by the Wesleyan revival is enormous.

The topical treatment that is used by the author has both the obvious merits and defects of giving unity to a particular theme and then requiring the necessary back-tracking to pick up other topics. In dealing with the expansion of Methodism, the author felt that it was necessary to incorporate innumerable details of numbers of converts, of preachers, of members, that can be of interest only to the most serious student or researcher. Out of fairness to Dr. Barclay, he probably felt that there was no other way to have a well-rounded history. Nevertheless, it classifies the work mainly as a reference volume.

There are some challenging pages in the book, such as those dealing with the first missionary efforts in Africa. One is impressed too by the fact that, while the missionary motive extended overseas, it did not neglect elements on the home front, such as seamen, foreign language groups, Negroes, and even prostitutes, who might well have been overlooked had the Methodist outlook been provincial and conventional. As for Dr. Barclay's major purposes, he is successful in conveying to his readers the spirit and genius of his denomination.

University of Maryland

W. M. GEWEHR

THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD: CENTRAL PACIFIC, UNION PACIFIC. By *John Debo Galloway*. (New York: Simmons-Boardman. 1950. Pp. x, 319. \$5.00.)

THIS posthumous volume by a well-known California engineer is primarily concerned with the story of the building of our first transcontinental railway. Based largely on readily available secondary sources, company reports, and public records to which the author devoted a lifetime's extracurricular research, the book

has the great virtue of bringing together in a single volume many little known and oft-neglected facts of the railroad's conquest of the thinly populated, rugged region west of the one-hundredth meridian. An intimate knowledge of the geography of the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states and a practicing engineer's appreciation of the technical problems involved in overcoming natural obstacles give the account validity and color and make the story of the surveying and actual construction of the two railroads which composed the original route the best portions of the manuscript. Galloway's heroes are the engineers who plotted the course and the superintendents who drove the work through. Their vision and singleness of purpose in pursuing their objectives and their fortitude and courage in the face of mountain storms and Indian opposition are characteristics which move the author to his best writing and arouse the admiration of the reader.

If the accounts of the engineering and construction problems are the book's strength and its greatest appeal, that is probably as the author intended, for in Galloway's mind "the culminating effort in the building of railroads in the United States was the construction of the Pacific Railroad—the Union Pacific from Omaha to Ogden, Utah, and the Central Pacific from Sacramento to Ogden" (p. 4) and this accomplishment was "one of the greatest engineering and construction feats of all time" (p. 7). Nevertheless, for the professional historian, Galloway's treatment leaves something to be desired. The author admits, at the outset, that the building was accompanied by "much distrust, politics, and internal dissension" (p. 6) but his discussion of the human frailties and the background factors leaves the reader dissatisfied. His account of the origin and development of railroads in England and America is thin and adds little to his main thesis except insofar as it is used to introduce technical problems facing the railroad builder. His review of the early efforts to promote the construction of a transcontinental railroad seems to this reviewer to lack a full understanding and appreciation of the political and economic forces at work in the period between 1840 and the Civil War. This is especially true of the sectional attitudes toward expansionism, railroads, and economic advance which he touches upon but does not fully evaluate. He includes among the numerous biographical sketches of important figures in the two railroad companies brief accounts of promoters and financiers as well as the technical men, but his treatment of the former is largely uncritical. For example, he cannot quite make up his mind about the construction company device like the Credit Mobilier: "To say that by this practice Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker became wealthy is something of an understatement. Nevertheless, it is true that the Associates built one of the great railroad systems of the West, which still operates to the great benefit of the region through which it runs" (p. 115). To one especially interested in the relationships of government and private enterprise in the promotion of economic development, Galloway's minimizing of the importance of the land grants and his treatment of much of the political background reveal a fundamental misconception about the attitude of the people of the time toward government aid.

Technically, the book has both its good points and bad. Its greatest virtue in this regard is the inclusion of thirty-two pages of excellent pictures, many of which speak volumes about the problems of the project, but this valuable adjunct is more than offset, in this reviewer's mind, by the failure to include any maps other than the incomplete end-paper sketches. This omission is a decided handicap to the reader trying to follow Galloway's story of the numerous exploratory surveys, especially those in the Wyoming region for the Union Pacific end of the route. The author's style is generally straightforward and clear, but here and there is a tendency toward repetition and the introduction of irrelevancies. Most unfortunately for the serious student of railway history the book is completely unannotated and the bibliography is thin and uncritical. Finally, and this is no fault of the author, several proofreading errors mar the quality of the publisher's work.

Unquestionably, the publisher's claim that civil engineers will find this history fascinating reading has validity, but the historian will wistfully lay down the book with the wish that the nontechnical aspects of the building of the first transcontinental railroad had been treated as well as the engineering and construction.

Northwestern University

HOWARD F. BENNETT

THE SOUTHERN COUNTRY STORE, 1800-1860. By *Lewis E. Atherton*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. ix, 227. \$3.50.)

IN writing of the country store in the Old South, Professor Atherton has treated an institution little understood by political and economic historians who have written the story of the region. To get at the facts of the rural trade of the South before 1865 required a departure from the paths which have led up to the doors of more formal institutions. Before the publication of this book there was a serious hiatus in the explanation of how the Old South's population on one hand was composed of such an overwhelming proportion of rural folk, and how on the other they secured supplies outside the big plantation factorage system. On the surface it appeared that the individual purchaser in the Old South was more efficiently supplied with goods at the larger centers of trade than he was in the years following the war when at least the arterial lines of distribution were better organized. In some respects this was possibly true, but at the same time it is doubtful that any considerable quantity of goods moved into many isolated regions.

The term "country store" as used in this case deserves some brief definition. It was not truly a crossroads store such as those which came into existence after the war, and in the time when the lien laws were basic to the functioning of the agricultural system. Certainly some of the towns considered by Professor Atherton, though small when compared with their modern expansion, were not actually crossroads villages. Thus the term "country store" becomes a relative one depending upon the character of its merchandise, its customers, and the terms of its credit. Likewise it is necessary to include its agricultural marketing facility. This leads to

a rather broad discussion of merchandising in the Old South, which of necessity involves a discussion of the factor. To date, the author's discussion of this subject is the most analytical that has been published. If the definition of the country store is rather broad, the definition of the geographical limits of the Old South is rather restricted. It is based rather overwhelmingly on economic rather than strict geographical limitations. He ignores Kentucky but gives considerable attention to Tennessee. Arkansas receives enough notice to find a place in the index, and so does Texas. The spotting of communities considered by Professor Atherton follows rather consistently the availability of records collected in the more important southern libraries. In North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana records were found which caused him to emphasize those areas. He had little or no advantage of seeing the stores themselves, and none of seeing original stocks of merchandise. By the same token he had limited advantage in examining long runs of invoice books, ledgers, day books, gin books, and, most important of all, the thousands of human notes which were addressed to the store-keepers. All of these are highly pertinent to the development of a balanced picture of merchandising. It must be said in Professor Atherton's behalf, however, that many of the ancient store ledgers are almost meaningless because of the curious hieroglyphics used in making itemized entries. It is almost impossible to tell what it was the customer bought. This being true his bibliography is made up largely of "papers" of the letter and official nature rather than the simple little notations.

How much the author's conclusions would have been altered had he seen a much wider and more intensive collection of papers perhaps is open to serious question. Any scholar who has set for himself the task of writing an institutional history learns that three things haunt him: first, what to do with chronology and the changing phases of styles and time itself; second, how to classify a heterogeneous mixture of institutions; and, finally, that in a region as provincial as the Old South there could be little departure from a monotonous pattern of behavior. All these haunt the present study. There is undoubtedly no formula for removing these bugaboos to the writing of this kind of socio-economic history.

The reader does not see the store in clear outline. A few of the merchants appear in slight personal sketches. Customers appear in mass, and almost never as mud-splattered sons of toil making excuses for their inability to settle accounts and seeking credit extension. There is little or none of the smell, the feel, and the sentimental aspects of merchandising. Like a Yankee commission merchant, Mr. Atherton looks rather faithfully to the written statement of fact. He is conscious of the folk about the store, but a reserved sense of "business is business" prevents him from sitting down to gossip with the people. They are the fixtures of the trade and appear in the terms of paid and unpaid accounts, or as little cotton and tobacco producers with their year's labor for sale in the fall in the form of staple produce. Perhaps that is all a customer ever is in the coldly realistic business of getting along in the commercial world. This is a sound book which fills a need of

long standing. It clears away much obscuring fog from Old South economic history, and it points the direction for further fruitful study and interpretation.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, 1861-1865. By *E. Merton Coulter*. [A History of the South, Volume VII.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 644. \$7.00.)

"The South" stretches nearly two thousand miles between Mason and Dixon's line and the Rio Grande. In that immense territory there are almost infinite variations in topography, climate, resources, and activities. And yet there is about the region an awareness of a certain unity. It is a region looked upon by others, and looking upon itself, as somehow different. This sense of differentiation is the product of a history common to the region and peculiar to it as well.

This common and peculiar history comes to a focus in the four years covered by Professor Coulter's volume, seventh in sequence and fourth to be issued in the ten-volume "History of the South" now appearing under the joint imprint of the Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. The years 1861-1865 were of such transcendent importance to the South, indeed, that even to this day history is usually divided in that section into events "before the war" and those since, and there is no need to specify which war is meant.

"These four years," the author observes, "were of almost equal importance to all Americans, for what took place in the South reacted on the whole country with greater effect than that of any other four years in American history." The "vast number of military and naval accounts" of the events of those years, he adds, have "made a full history of the war against the South and by the South" but one which "took little note of the South itself." To correct this lack, the author has undertaken a history which is expressly that "of the South and not of the war principally," although as he says, there was in those four years "little which was not related in some way to the war; and so in these pages, where the war is not, its shadow falls."

Nowhere else will there be found within the covers of one volume such a range of information upon so many aspects of what took place in the South in 1861-1865. Indeed, not in many volumes will its like be found, for Professor Coulter has garnered from numerous studies of others upon the various nonmilitary aspects of the period, has added riches from his own wide-ranging study, and has infused the whole with his penetrating sense of historic values.

Issue might be taken with the author for the scant treatment accorded military and naval events in a volume which is not specifically offered as a special study of hitherto neglected aspects of life in the South during the war but as one volume of a general work designed to give the whole history of the section. True, the mili-

tary side of the war is far more familiar and has elsewhere received vastly more notice, but to restrict its presentation so severely as is done in this, the only volume of the general work in which it could be treated, is to leave out of Southern history one of its uniquely vital elements.

In the space so saved, however, Dr. Coulter has brought together rewarding chapters on such topics as the constitution of the Confederate States, with its several excellent modifications of the United States Constitution; the organization and operation of the civil government, and its diplomacy and fiscal and taxation policies; the agriculture, commerce, and industry of the Southern people, with attention to production, distribution, transportation, prices, and profits; the journalistic, literary, artistic, educational, and religious activities of the people; the part played by the Negroes; and the final breakdown and collapse leading to the end.

Throughout the work there are shrewd and penetrating observations as to the causes of failure of the Confederacy. The flag and the very word "Confederate" were in time to become powerful and moving symbols, but as Dr. Coulter acutely points out, "the Confederacy never became an emotional reality to the people until Reconstruction made it so after the war had been lost." The principal responsibility for this lack of a truly Confederate patriotism is laid to the doctrine of state rights, with its distrust of any central government, whether at Washington or at Richmond, and to the failure of the Confederate government to deal successfully with such everyday matters as taxation, money, and prices and the logistic side of its military problems. Transportation, he observes, was "scarcer than provisions," and the "downward road to ruin" was through insufficient taxation and an inflation of the money supply until small change shinplasters came to be "not worth the effort to counterfeit." Nevertheless, as the author observes, until almost the very end Confederate money continued to be accepted and used by the people.

In a review it is impossible to do more than suggest the scope and sweep of the work. It is possible to be captious and point out that General Forrest, even though his talents were discounted and never really used by the government at Richmond, did at times command more than 4,000 men; and that the American army in Mexico had made the acquaintance of cigarettes fifteen years earlier. Specialists will doubtless differ on some of the details but taking the book as a whole, it is truly a magnum opus, unique in its field.

Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT S. HENRY

TRAVELS IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY. By E. Merton Coulter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 289. \$7.50.)

No other chapter of American history has been so voluminously recorded as the American Civil War; the personal source material—travels, diaries, autobiographies, memoirs, letters, and reports published in book form or in publications

of learned societies and in magazines runs well up into the thousands. This mass of material is however of most varied value. Mr. Coulter rightly observes that letters are, on the whole, most reliable and after them diaries and journals, while accounts written primarily for publication, either during or after the war, are for various reasons suspect. Only those who have worked in this field of Civil War narratives know how elusive much of the material is, and how difficult it is to identify and evaluate such material as can be found.

Mr. Coulter has listed here some five hundred accounts of "travel" in the Confederacy. The term "travel" requires a bit of explanation. Most of the authors included here were not travelers in the customary sense of the term; they were, rather, involuntary visitors, and for the most part their descriptions were fortuitous and incidental rather than deliberate. Obvious but peculiar circumstances characterize most of these accounts: not only do they describe a belligerent South but they are written in a belligerent mood. Even the accounts by foreigners—some two dozen or so—reveal the impact of war and confess partisanship.

The most useful feature of this bibliography is the elaborate annotation of all books listed, an annotation which includes not only all pertinent bibliographical information but brief biographical sketches and a critical estimate of the circumstances in which the work was written and of its value. These notes contain information not elsewhere available and suggest a familiarity with the material itself not customary in bibliographies. Mr. Coulter has, however, omitted information about reprints of original material; as many reprints have been given new titles, such information would be helpful.

The bibliography is, of course, selective rather than inclusive. Some of the omissions, doubtless dictated by considerations of space, would seem to be unfortunate. Thus individual books only are included; the whole vast and invaluable body of source material in learned society publications and in such magazines as the *Confederate Veteran* or *The Land We Love* or the *Magazine of American History* has been ignored. Much of the material to be found in such serials—Major Connelley's letters, for example, or the letters of Chauncey Cooke—is better than most of the things in book form. There are many other omissions that some students will regret: General Wolseley's famous descriptions of Lee and Jackson in *Blackwood's Magazine*; the letters of General Sherman and of Charles Francis Adams, and the Ropes-Gray correspondence; Morgan's *Rebel Reefer*, Miss Hague's vivid *Blockaded Family*; De Forest's dramatic descriptions of the Teche Bayou country; Mark Twain's lively "Campaign That Failed"; Toney's graphic *Privations of a Private*; Townsend's eloquent *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant*, and others. Regimental histories, too, are seriously neglected. The field is, to be sure, vast, and Mr. Coulter had to draw the line somewhere, but it seems odd to include Davis' *Thirteenth Massachusetts* and omit Irwin's incomparable *Nineteenth Corps*.

Mr. Coulter makes one odd observation: "Southerners," he says, "wrote much less than did Northerners." This is true enough with respect to regimental histories, but as far as reminiscences and journals are concerned the opposite would

appear to be true. Certainly the best Civil War literature is Southern; here, as in so many fields—history, the movies, the radio, and advertising—the South has succeeded in reversing the verdict of Appomattox.

Columbia University

HENRY COMMAGER

A MEASURE FOR GREATNESS: A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF EDWARD WESTON. By *David O. Woodbury*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1949. Pp. ix, 230. \$4.00.)

AMERICAN historians find it convenient, though not always entirely accurate, to divide our nation's industrial development into "ages," as for example the hunter-trapper age, the agrarian age, the iron age, the steel age, the electrical age, and only yesterday we moved into the atomic age. No one of these "ages" owes so much to so few as does the electrical age. The roll call of not more than a dozen names would include the major pioneer inventors who brought about one of the greatest technological changes in American history.

Included in this list is the name of Edward Weston. Born in England (1850), he migrated to America in 1870, and here he experienced in full measure all those struggles, heartaches, sacrifices, and successes that enter into the biographies of those noted inventors who rose "from rags to riches." The electrical age was just dawning when, in the spring of 1870, the twenty-year-old boy, whose entire wealth consisted of a few books, two pieces of home made apparatus, a Bible, a few pounds of cash, arrived in New York, "groggy and thin." He tramped the streets for days before calling upon Professor Charles Chandler of Columbia College, who aided him in securing a position as a helper in a small chemical company. Forty-five years later, Dr. Chandler, before a gathering of the most brilliant chemists in America, had the pleasure of presenting to Weston the coveted Perkins' medal for his outstanding achievements in chemistry.

Weston's achievements in the field of electricity were epoch-making. They included electroplating, building of battery cells, dynamos, electric motors, a system of electric power transmission and control, all of which resulted in giving to man "the most valuable product on earth—electric power." He pioneered in plastics. When Edison was combing the world for a substance that would give him a carbon fibrous filament for his electric light bulb, Weston brought out his plastic filament (tamidine) which would burn for 2,000 hours, compared to 40 hours for Edison's filament. Weston is best known, however, for introducing a number of accurate electrical measurements. His voltmeters (a.c.), ammeters, and the Weston standard cell, which in 1911 became the official standard of electromotive force for the entire world, won for him the deserved title "father of accurate electrical measurements." Altogether he took out over three hundred patents. He became a citizen of the United States in 1923 and died in 1936.

University of Pittsburgh

JOHN W. OLIVER

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN: A HISTORY, 1848-1925. In two volumes. By *Merle Curti* and *Vernon Carstensen*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 739; x, 668. \$6.00 per volume, \$10.00 per set.)

THIS is no ordinary college history concocted to glorify the alma mater and to nourish the devotion of the alumni. It is a contribution to knowledge, especially to our knowledge of the intellectual history of the United States, and it should be appraised, therefore, as one would appraise any other monographic study in American history. True the work was sponsored and financed by the university, but that facilitated the availability of source materials and no administrative censorship appears to have been exercised over the content. True both authors are members of the faculty of the university, but they are not alumni and, what is more important, they are trained historical scholars and one of them has a number of important works on intellectual history to his credit.

The history of the university is recounted from its establishment in 1848, with adequate consideration of backgrounds, to about 1925. One wonders if the last quarter century of the university's history was thought to be too "hot" even to be sketched at present. If one of the objectives of history is to enable us better to understand the present, such a hiatus is regrettable. The work is divided into four major parts by periods: 1836-66, 1866-87, 1887-1903, and 1903-25; and the whole of the second volume is devoted to the last period. The chapters on the outstanding presidents are very well written and contribute materially to an understanding of the men and the institution they helped to build. Most of the other chapters are little monographs on such topics as finances, the faculty, the student body, athletics, extension work, and, for the last period, the principal schools and colleges of the university; and most of them range over the entire period. Apparently studies or drafts for many of these chapters were prepared by assistants. Probably this organization and procedure were the only practicable ones in view of time limitations—the work was supposed to be a centennial history and the centennial was celebrated in 1948—but the results are that no clear picture of the evolution of the university emerges, the trees are more visible than is the forest, and there are duplications and inconsistencies. For example, we are told on pages 151 and 183 and again on page 441 of Volume I that Professor Reid had ventilated the houses of Parliament, and the statements on pages 573, 609, and 613 of Volume I about President Adams' controversy with the faculty over the eligibility of athletes are mutually inconsistent.

Apparently a large mass of source material was available to the writers and their assistants. It consisted of university records; personal papers of presidents, regents, faculty members, and students; official and unofficial state and university publications; and newspaper files. Unfortunately much of this material, especially the university records, appears to have been disorganized and there are large gaps in it. The manuscript and other materials collected, preserved, and arranged by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin were invaluable, but had a "University

Archives" been established some years ago a better history would have been possible. The overemphasis on the Board of Regents and the presidency, as compared with faculty and students, is probably due, in part at least, to the character of the available materials.

The work is fully documented by real footnotes, there is a brief bibliographical note at the end, and the analytical index in Volume II appears to be well made. The physical format is pleasing to the eye, the typography is good, and the illustrations are appropriate and well reproduced. The work is not easy to read, however, in the purely physical sense. Each volume is over two inches thick and weighs about three pounds. If over 1,400 pages were needed to tell the story, it would seem that they might have been printed on lighter weight paper.

Whatever its shortcomings, the present work easily takes rank as the most important history of a state university that has yet appeared. When histories comparable in quality have appeared for a dozen other state universities, it will be possible to assess the role played during the past century by such institutions in the evolution of the United States. The first chapter of the present work, on "Origins of the State University Idea," is a notable contribution toward such a larger synthesis.

Library of Congress

SOLON J. BUCK

SOUTHERN POLITICS IN STATE AND NATION. By *V. O. Key, Jr.* With the Assistance of Alexander Heard. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xxvi, 675, xiv. Trade \$6.00, text \$4.50.)

It is a truism of methodology that if data do not substantiate a hypothesis either the data or the hypothesis is inadequate. There have been many hypotheses offered to explain the phenomena of Southern politics. Among propositions, held with varying degrees of popularity, are the ideas that Southern politicians are a group of racist demagogues, that Southern Democrats are spiritually akin to Northern Republicans, that Bourbon planters capitalize on poor white hatred of Negroes, that the poll tax disfranchises masses of citizens, that lynchings prevent Negroes from voting, and that Southern politics is a comic opera. The data to support any of these hypotheses are thin.

In 1946, Professor V. O. Key, jr., assumed direction of a Rockefeller-financed survey of Southern electoral practices for the University of Alabama. His corps of investigators and assistants held interviews, compiled statistics, charts, and illustrative material exploring in minute detail the methods of electioneering in the South and the nature of the Southern electorate. The result is an extensive and comprehensive study of far-reaching significance.

The volume begins with descriptions of the political systems in each of the eleven states of the Confederacy. There is Virginia with its eighteenth century type Byrd machine; Alabama with conflicts between black-belt planters, industrial

"Big Mules," and "Populist" hill folk; Tennessee's three sections and Mr. Crump; Florida's incredible factionalism; Georgia's red-gallused county units, South Carolina's near-cabinet system, Louisiana's long oscillation between sharing the wealth and share-cropping, Arkansas homogeneity, North Carolina's "progressive plutocracy," Mississippi's contending delta and hill regions, and Texas' emerging liberal-conservative alignments. The bare enumeration of these divergencies dissipates some of the popular hypotheses about the South. Moreover, a section on the South in national elections and on Southerners in the national legislature effectively demonstrates that the Solid South is solid only on racial issues and differs more with Northern Republicans than with non-Southern Democrats. In fact, "Southerners oppose the Republicans more consistently than do the non-southerners."

Turning from an evaluation of state and national politics, the author examines the minutiae of party organization, methods of nomination, primary and election processes, and campaign finance. In a final section he studies the size and composition of the limited Southern electorate, examines the impact of the literacy test and the poll tax, and discusses the effect of the Supreme Court's decisions against the white primary. Altogether its multiplicity of detail and its extensive coverage make the book invaluable for students of Southern politics or for those who would assess the South's role in the nation. Its easy, familiar—almost colloquial—style, composed in good humor and presented with humor, relieves it of the tedium which normally characterizes detailed and statistical analyses of politics.

The marshaled data here presented relegates to the realm of myth most popular hypotheses about Southern politics. Virginia's Byrd machine is not corrupt, the poll tax is not the major factor in maintaining white supremacy, Southern politicians are not all demagogues, and "it is the poorer whites who support candidates . . . for the reduction of racial discriminations and for the alleviation of racial tensions." Unfortunately, however, the author's labored effort to find a synthesis in the melee is hardly more convincing. The "fundamental explanation of Southern politics is," he says early in the book, "that the black-belt whites succeeded in imposing their will on their states and thereby presented a solid regional front in national politics on the race issue." Toward the end, he returns to the theme: "The black-belt counties can be regarded as a skeleton holding together the South. They have, in a sense, managed to subordinate the entire South to the services of their peculiar local needs." The 650 pages of factual information which separate these statements furnish so many exceptions, so many special variations, and so many other conditioning factors that the hypothesis appears untenable.

A more frequently recurring theme, however, is the repeated implication—and sometimes assertion—that things would be different if the South had two political parties. This, of course, is mere speculation, although it could have been tested by extending the study into the border states. The difference between Kentucky with two parties and Tennessee with Mr. Crump's one is not immediately apparent. Nor is there valid reason to assume that two Southern parties would

have divided, in the national arena, when regional issues were at stake. If black-belt whites could dominate the South's one party, they might, conceivably, have dominated two.

But even if exception can be taken to both the hypothesis of the black-belt skeleton and the two-party speculation, the book retains its value as a careful, scholarly, and extensive examination of the Southern political scene and of prevailing practices. Comparable studies for other regions are badly needed. They might, indeed, demonstrate that some Southern practices are not peculiar to the South, and they certainly could improve generalizations about national politics.

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Compiled with Special Material and Explanatory Notes by *Samuel I. Rosenman*. 1941: THE CALL TO BATTLE STATIONS. 1942: HUMANITY ON THE DEFENSIVE. 1943: THE TIDE TURNS. 1944-45: VICTORY AND THE THRESHOLD OF PEACE. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. xxxvi, 632; xxv, 552; xxvii, 593; lxxi, 634. \$40.00 per set.)

No President of the United States has had a keener awareness of his role in history than Franklin D. Roosevelt. One manifestation of this was his decision during his second term to begin publication of his more important addresses and public papers in order to aid "students of history . . . in assaying the period." The initial volume covered Roosevelt's four years as governor of New York, and the campaign of 1932. Succeeding volumes each covered a year of the presidency. The last of these, for the third term, bring the total to a massive thirteen volumes.

Altogether this set is a most useful tool for either the specialist or the general historian. It contains speeches, messages, proclamations, a few executive orders, some letters of a public nature, and transcripts of press conferences. Appended to many of these are explanatory notes, often running to considerable length, which summarize and defend pertinent administrative actions. Because of these notes and the official nature of many of the messages and orders, the *Public Papers* are above all a compendium of executive activities during the New Deal and war. For example, following Executive Order No. 8926, establishing the Office of Lend-Lease Administration, a note eight pages in length presents historical and statistical data on lend-lease, and concludes that without it "ultimate victory would have been long delayed, if not completely impossible."

Notes in the first nine volumes were purportedly the handiwork of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but with few exceptions were formal and official in nature. Those of the last four volumes, prepared by Judge Rosenman and his assistant, Kenneth Hechler, are far fuller, and at points less formal. They contain in short form, histories of almost all war agencies and programs, and should serve for reference, or as a starting point for research. Further, Rosenman at times injects his personal

observations and reminiscences. He gives his explanation of why Roosevelt's speech at Bremerton in August, 1944, was such a failure, yet the Teamsters' speech a month later such a success. And it was Rosenman who suggested to Roosevelt that he refer to the starting point of General Doolittle's Tokyo air raiders as having been "Shangri-La."

Roosevelt's speeches as they appear in the *Public Papers* are a compromise between the actual transcripts, which include some "ad libbing," and the reading copies. Rosenman has also made some editorial changes in the stenographic records of extemporaneous talks. Although these have led to some discrepancies between the texts in the *Public Papers* and those in newspapers, they do not seem important. On October 14, 1943, President Roosevelt made a careless extemporaneous speech on Haiti. A comparison of the published text with the stenographic transcription indicates not the slightest change in its several factual inaccuracies.

The most important new information, and much of the best reading, in the four volumes on the war years, are extensive excerpts from the transcripts of press conferences. Of 287 conferences between 1940 and 1945, transcripts of 94 are published. Many of these contain background on the war, "off the record" at the time, or, as in the case of the notable allegory concerning "Dr. New Deal and Dr. Win-the-War," statements which reporters could not quote directly at the time. Although a few historians have been able to see these transcripts, they have not been able to quote from them, since the official copies at the Roosevelt Library were not available. Roosevelt was not always enlightening in answering reporters' questions, but was often at his entertaining best in the give-and-take, and sometimes made significant explanations of his policies. The value of the press conference material published, points up the desirability of printing or issuing on microfilm a complete set of transcripts of the 998 conferences from 1933 to 1945. Only 220 of these are in the *Public Papers*.

Rosenman and Hechler have edited these volumes with commendable clarity and accuracy. The last volume contains a lengthy cumulative topical table covering the entire thirteen volume set.

University of Illinois

FRANK FREIDEL

ROOSEVELT AND THE RUSSIANS: THE YALTA CONFERENCE. By Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Edited by Walter Johnson. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1949. Pp. xvi, 367. \$4.00.)

ACCORDING to this invaluable book, President Roosevelt could have made no other agreements than those he did make at Yalta. Thus the late Secretary of State strides over the question whether the President's actions were sound or unsound and almost implies that fate, in the form of the exigencies of the world situation as it existed in 1945, coupled with the President's thought that the peace must be built on firm unity between the United States, the Soviet Union, and

Britain, predetermined the form of the Yalta decisions. In eastern Europe, asks Mr. Stettinius, "what did the Soviet gain which she did not already have as the result of the smashing victories of the Red Army?" In the Far East, Mr. Roosevelt was impelled to make territorial concessions to the Soviets in order to persuade Russia to enter the war against Japan, because, Mr. Stettinius reports, the President's military advisers told him during the conference that Japan could hold off its then enemies into 1947 or longer. So, we read, "President Roosevelt did not 'surrender' anything significant at Yalta which it was in his power to withhold."

The decisions which Mr. Stettinius considered undebatable have been debated in the United States almost from the day the Yalta communiqué was published in February, 1945. The increasingly critical attitude which many Republicans began to show last winter in commenting on United States foreign policy suggests that the American postwar position in world affairs will be a serious issue in some states and congressional districts during the election campaigns this fall. The detractors of the Democratic administration usually list Yalta high among the administration's errors, and attribute to Yalta the postwar expansion of Soviet influence throughout eastern Europe. Careful reading of *Roosevelt and the Russians* fortifies the belief that such criticism is unwarranted. The expansion of Soviet influence would have taken place without Yalta. The question which the book does leave in the reader's mind is not whether Mr. Roosevelt was foolishly generous to Stalin in the Crimea but whether Mr. Roosevelt was not unwise to believe that the United States and Britain should erect the structure of peace on the foundation of agreement with the Soviet Union. In other words, should the President have gone to Yalta in the first place?

For information on this issue, the book at hand merits serious study. Mr. Stettinius took careful notes of each day's events at Yalta and on the journey to Yalta. He has set the conference pretty well in the context of its time except for his neglecting to mention that the possibility of a separate Russian peace with Germany affected American official thinking. To write the book he organized his notes into a simple chronological running account of the meeting. This kind of round, unvarnished tale gives us a just portrayal of the interplay of the leading characters on the Yalta boards—Mr. Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill, Molotov, Eden, and Stettinius himself. While Stalin could have gained what he wanted in Poland and Yugoslavia without negotiation, the fact that at Yalta he not only negotiated but even made concessions to Roosevelt and Churchill on fine points suggests that at one time the Soviet government itself—or at least its prime minister—intended to ground its postwar policy on three-power concurrence. Mr. Stettinius points out that Yalta can be justified by the fact that it made possible the creation of the United Nations. "The Western Nations could not follow their present policy toward the Soviet Union [containment] unless they had behind them the record of President Roosevelt and Prime

Minister Churchill in their joint effort to deal with the Russian leaders in an honest and honorable manner at Yalta," Mr. Stettinius concludes. There must be better reasons for Yalta than that. The facts in the book are superior to its commentaries.

Washington, D. C.

BLAIR BOLLES

MY THREE YEARS IN MOSCOW. By *Walter Bedell Smith*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1950. Pp. 346. \$3.75.)

AMONG the great number of books on the Soviet Union which have appeared during and since the war this one is certainly outstanding and ranks with *The Strange Alliance* by General John R. Deane, former chief of our military mission in Moscow during the war. General Smith is not only an astute observer but also a careful and frank analyst. He is not misled either into praising everything the Soviets have done or into condemning everything he found in Moscow. When he was about to embark on his mission as ambassador to the U.S.S.R., he was more optimistic than the officials of the State Department because of his wartime dealings with senior officers of the Red Army. But he was soon disillusioned when he had to deal with Molotov, Vishinsky, and Stalin himself, whom he describes as being "capable of contradicting himself and even of deliberately deceiving his auditor" (p. 62). The three years General Smith spent in Moscow taught him that "it is unwise and futile to disregard or to attempt to cheapen in any way a political ideology which is unique in the profound belief that its end is attainable only by violent revolution, that subsequent to this revolution there must be a period of dictatorship based on open terror, and that the Socialist state can only be secure when capitalism is destroyed" (p. 129). He also came to the conclusion that one of the immediate reasons for our strained relations with the Soviet Union was the reduction after the end of the shooting war of "our defense force to a greater extent than was justified by world conditions" (p. 36) and also "that there never was the slightest intention on the part of Stalin and the Politburo to honor—at any point or in any way—the many agreements they had made with the British and with ourselves to allow the people of Eastern Europe freely to choose their own form of government" (p. 196).

The historical value of the book is that it not only presents a detailed and accurate appraisal of the Soviet scene but gives for the first time a complete picture of the diplomatic struggle that went on during the Moscow Conference of 1947 and the Berlin Blockade. General Smith is less fortunate when he ventures into Russia's past and draws conclusions that the present Moscow rulers are carrying out in their behavior, in their attitudes and in their policies old Russian traditions. While superficial resemblance is there, the fundamental difference is so great that any true historian will disagree with such comparisons. The book contains also some errors of fact, such as the date of the assassination of Emperor

Alexander II (p. 283), and others which the limitation of space prevents me from mentioning and which should be corrected in subsequent editions. As to the future of our relations with the leaders in the Kremlin, whose "policy is still world revolution and Communist world domination and will continue to be such in the foreseeable future" (p. 307), it looks grim to General Smith. "The general outlook is one of friction, disputes, recrimination and tension" (p. 326). And the soldier-diplomat concludes that "we must face the fact that we are engaged in a contest of indefinite duration" (p. 335). No present or future historian of American-Soviet relations can afford to overlook this valuable account of three crucial postwar years seen from the vantage point of the United States embassy in Moscow.

University of Toronto

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

I WAS THERE: THE PERSONAL STORY OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF TO PRESIDENTS ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN BASED ON HIS NOTES AND DIARIES MADE AT THE TIME. By Fleet Admiral *William D. Leahy*. With a Foreword by President Truman. (New York: Whittlesey House. 1950. Pp. 527. \$5.00.)

THE chief of staff to both the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Truman has written a sprawling volume of memoirs. The book is disordered, far from the shipshape job which might have been expected from a sea-going man. There is slight attempt at chronology. Often Admiral Leahy merely sets down collections of notes, unrelated to each other. But the admiral disclaims any talents as a writer or a historian either. President Truman explains in a brief foreword that Admiral Leahy was requested to publish the copious notes he jotted down during the war so that they could "be made available to the public in convenient form."

The form is less than convenient, but the volume can take an honored place, none the less, among the unending books about World War II. Admiral Leahy, after leaving his post as ambassador to France in the Vichy regime, became the principal liaison officer between President Roosevelt and the army, navy, and air force commanders who were actively prosecuting the war. He conferred with Mr. Roosevelt virtually every day. All the top secret documents passed across his desk. Most important, he attended all, except one, of the history-making conferences at which Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, and the other allied leaders thrashed out the broad outlines of the grand strategy and sought to fashion the peace which has not yet come.

Admiral Leahy is outspoken and frank, more so than objective. Like his chief in the White House, he utterly loathed Charles de Gaulle and never misses a chance to make a disparaging remark about the one French general who seemed able to unite the bewildered people of defeated France. As a fellow sea dog, he had interests in common with Admiral François Darlan. Leahy appears to believe that Marshall Pétain was a pathetic figure who loved his country but whose ideas were

totalitarian. The early chapters of the admiral's memoirs add little to the existing data on the deal with Darlan on the North African invasion.

The admiral's prejudices occasionally get the better of his normal common sense. From time to time, he recounts, members of the French underground would "slip into" the American embassy at Vichy. They "seemed to be erratic" fellows, however, "with strange ideas about . . . throwing a bomb here and there." Admiral Leahy seems to think that the maquis, facing torture and death every minute of their lives, should have been organized with the spit and polish of the quarterdeck. He notes an exception to the unreliable maquis in the person of a young lady spy "who was from a good family." He neglects to mention that many of the French families of respectability were happily and safely collaborating with the Nazis in Paris.

But Leahy was confident that the British would repel any invasion. He agreed with Harry Hopkins that Russian valor and the winter weather would in due course turn back Hitler's armies. In these convictions the chief of staff must have been of real service to Mr. Roosevelt. The admiral's loyalty was, of course, unquestioned. He regarded the President as the greatest commander-in-chief in history, more skilled in the direction of global war than Churchill. He insists that no concessions were made to the Soviet at Yalta and his account of that controversial conference is convincing.

Historians will take note of Admiral Leahy's views on the invasion of Japan and the dropping of the atom bomb. As early as July, 1944, Leahy was convinced that Japan was potentially defeated and that surrender could be achieved by naval action and aerial bombing. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, he insists, never authorized a land invasion—only the planning for it. For a time Leahy appears to have had the support of Roosevelt. He blames the army for demanding the invasion, with the horrible consequence that the atom bomb was used and the United States lost the leadership of the world.

"It is my opinion," is the stern judgment of Admiral Leahy, "that the use of this barbarous weapon . . . was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender."

The fateful decision by President Truman was made because he was persuaded that the war would thereby be shortened. Except for this disagreement, Leahy and his new commander worked together in complete harmony. The admiral found the President "amazingly well informed on military history." When he had assumed the presidency, he rapidly mastered the intricate "business of war." With the Potsdam conference Leahy's admiration for Truman heightened. When the meetings ended, the admiral included this sentence among his notes: "Truman had stood up to Stalin in a manner to warm the heart of every patriotic American."

Washington, D. C.

HENRY F. PRINGLE

THEY CAME HERE FIRST: THE EPIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. By *D'Arcy McNickle*. [The Peoples of America Series.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1949. Pp. 325. \$3.75.)

THE INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST: A CENTURY OF DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE UNITED STATES. By *Edward Everett Dale*. [Civilization of the American Indian Series.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, in co-operation with Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. 1949. Pp. xvi, 283. \$4.00.)

MR. McNickle, in his sixteen years in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has come to the conclusion that "the amount of ignorance about Indians is so great, that any effort to lessen it must be helpful." He has made an effort in this volume, in which he endeavors to compress "the whole story of the American Indians' twenty-five thousand years of life in the new world," or, more accurately, the story of the Indians of the United States from their conjectured origin in northeastern Asia down to the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934. Considering the magnitude and the difficulty of the task the result is surprisingly satisfactory.

The first chapter establishes a new record for the imaginary conversation school of historical writing. It contains supposed discussion, some of it in quotation marks, among early Neolithic proto-Indians in Siberia concerning the desirability of migrating across Bering Strait. It gives an unfortunate initial impression of the book. The serious reader will do well to get through it somehow, or to skip it. The succeeding chapters are written with a quite different method and in a quite different spirit.

Part One—the first 89 pages—is a skillful summary of the fundamentals of the anthropology and prehistory of the Indians of the United States—somatology, linguistic classification, culture areas, artifacts, law, religion. Part Two—the next 79 pages—recounts the early contacts of Europeans with the Indians and carries the story up to the American Revolution. Part Three deals with a segment of the history of the United States—the workings of that combination of cupidity, inepititude, and manifest destiny which has constituted American policy toward the aborigines.

Inevitably in such a condensation some of the summaries are so brief as to be of little value, but on the whole the material is well selected and well presented. Part Three is the most valuable portion of the book. It contains material not readily available in brief compass elsewhere. Mr. McNickle wisely does not attempt to narrate any considerable portion of the history with which it deals. He writes: "The record of what happened . . . is much too complicated and monotonous to be followed in a brief space. The monotony would come, not because nothing happened, but because the same thing happened repeatedly in so many different forms and at so many different places, and always with such similarity of results. The Indians lost; the white men justified their actions." He examines

three isolated incidents which suggest the complete record: the removal of the principal tribes of the East to the territory beyond the Mississippi, the termination in 1871 of treaty-making as a method of dealing with the Indians, and the General Allotment Act of 1887.

There are a few errors, mostly minor but occasionally of some importance: on page 172, William Franklin, illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin, is identified as his brother; there is some confusion about the boundary of North Carolina, on page 184; British Indian policy did not come to an end in 1774, as one might infer from a statement on page 185; on page 196 Lord George Germain is designated as if he had a title in his own right; the location of St. Clair's battle with the Indians is erroneously given on page 199; "William Henry Harrison" on page 204 should read "Anthony Wayne." There is a strangely unobjective expression of opinion, quite out of character with the general tone of the book, on page 299: "No Frenchman was ever betrayed into helping an Indian when it was not profitable."

The eight illustrations seem to have been selected somewhat at random. The fourteen pages of notes are, for the most part, bibliographical. There is an adequate index.

The Indians of the Southwest has as a subtitle *A Century of Development under the United States*. It is a brief history of federal relations with the Indians of the territory acquired from Mexico in 1848 and 1853. It deals almost exclusively with the multifarious and complicated administrative problems that have arisen in the checkered course of those relations and it deals with them in meticulous detail. It is the product of laborious research, both extensive and intensive. In his preface Mr. Dale says: "The chief purpose of this volume is to give to the general reader a better knowledge and understanding of the Southwestern tribes as they are today by tracing briefly the story of the events which have helped to create present conditions. It is also hoped that the volume may be of value to scholars interested in the Southwest by furnishing a body of information which will serve as a background for the preparation of more detailed studies on special subjects touching the Indians of this area." He has succeeded in giving the specialist a scholarly work of exposition and reference, and he writes so well that he has almost accomplished the feat of making administrative history interesting to the general reader.

There are thirty-two well-chosen photographs and five maps as illustrations, an excellent bibliography, and a satisfactory index. The University of Oklahoma Press is to be congratulated on another specimen of fine bookmaking.

Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH C. GREEN

CORONADO, KNIGHT OF PUEBLOS AND PLAINS. By *Herbert E. Bolton*.
[University of New Mexico, Coronado Historical Series, Volume I.] (New

York: Whittlesey House, \$6.00; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press [with maps], \$8.00. Pp. xii, 491.)

HERBERT E. Bolton's place in American scholarship is too well known to require comment. To the history and understanding of the Spanish Southwest he has rendered as great a service as Frederick Jackson Turner rendered to the history and understanding of the West. Scholars trained under his hand are distinguished in many fields. His publications have become almost classics of their kind. *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains*, is another product of his tireless research in archives, libraries, and on the trail.

The story of the Coronado expedition is in truth a tale to hold "children from play and old men from the chimney corner." In it there is the lure of the mysterious, the fabulous, the unknown; something of the color and romance of the days of chivalry; an occasional example of that dry Spanish humor that seems to have the tang and flavor of sun-dried beef; a contribution of inestimable value to the history, geography, and ethnology of the vast Southwest. It is the drama of a heroic enterprise that began in the splendor of confidence and hope, suffered privation, bloodshed, and tragedy, and ended in bitter frustration and loss.

A number of distinguished American scholars—Winship, Hodge, Bandelier, Sauer, Hammond, Aiton, Rey, to mention those who come most readily to mind—have made invaluable contributions to our knowledge of the subject and of the source materials relating to it.

As the most recent author in the field, Bolton has been able to start, so to speak, where these men left off. With his usual thoroughness, he has spent years on the task. He has drawn on secondary authorities by the score and exhausted the great store of printed documents relating both to Coronado and the life and conditions of his time. He acknowledges a special debt to the store of source materials published by Hammond and Rey, in 1940, under the title *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, and perhaps a greater debt to the same authors for generously permitting him to use a large body of their unpublished documents.

The chief value of Bolton's study lies in the larger setting in which he places the explorations of Coronado and his chief lieutenants, the wealth of detail that he adds to our previous knowledge of the expedition, his account of the later activities and fortunes of Coronado and the other leaders who returned, and the careful "reconnaissance of Coronado's route of travel and the scenes of his adventures," that he made in person from Compostella to north-central Kansas.

The book has the Bolton hallmark. It is comprehensive, authoritative, written with meticulous attention to detail. Thus, to cite a few characteristic examples, he explains the true derivation of the name Llano Estacado; tells where, how, and by whom the Indian whom the Spaniards called the Turk ("because he looked like one") was put to death; and describes the procedure of Lorenzo de Tejada's official inquiry into Coronado's morals, acts, and leadership.

The book received the Whittlesey House Southwest Fellowship Award in 1949. It is a work that will live, both to serve the purposes of historical scholarship and to enrich the literature of the Spanish borderlands. The type and format of the book are good; the bibliography and index, excellent.

But the reviewer finds himself puzzled by two features of the volume. The author's previous works of the same character have been thoroughly documented and elaborately supplied with maps. *Coronado* contains only four footnotes, none of which is of major consequence, and fails to cite chapter and verse even on points of a highly controversial nature.

Instead of being well fortified with maps, such as one finds in Bolton's *Rim of Christendom* and *Anza's California Expeditions*, the volume has only two small half-page drawings and an end piece that covers the vast expanse of territory between Cuba and California and Central America and Wyoming, and shows, with relatively few identifying places and landmarks, the routes of Coronado, De Soto, Cabrillo, and a number of other explorers of that time.

This lack of adequate maps, for which the publishers rather than the author may be responsible, is the more unfortunate and confusing because of the author's emphasis upon the details of Coronado's route and his categorical identification of numerous places and locations, some of which undoubtedly will be questioned by other scholars.

The edition issued by the University of New Mexico Press as Volume I of the "Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940," bears the title *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail, Knight of Pueblo and Plains*, and is a handsome example of bookmaking, with excellent paper and wide margins. It has the same pagination as the Whittlesey House edition and was presumably made from the same plates. The maps in the New Mexico volume are blown up copies of those that appear in the Whittlesey House printing. Though much clearer and more distinct, they show no further details of the route for the well-informed historian nor any additional modern place names for the orientation of the general reader. The New Mexico edition also contains twenty or more pages of bibliographical notes, arranged by chapters, but not numbered in the text.

Huntington Library

ROBERT G. CLELAND

BOOKS OF THE BRAVE: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF BOOKS AND OF MEN IN THE SPANISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NEW WORLD. By *Irving A. Leonard*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 381. \$5.00.)

HISTORICAL literature in the United States has long had it that the Spaniards erected an "impenetrable" barrier to keep not only heretical works but humane letters out of the Indies and that, with callous disregard of esthetic refinement, diversion, and intellectual advancement, they were successful. One reason why

Americans have been so slow to arrive at a fair and sensible view of this matter is that Latin-American literary and intellectual historians themselves have preferred to continue without support the same easy thesis of total Spanish obscurantism. Professor Leonard counters with a mass of evidence that the royal decrees upon which this view is based were never even intended to deny the romances of chivalry to any save Indians and, perhaps, mestizo elements. From the time that the colorful pyramids and walls of Mexico reminded Bernal Díaz del Castillo and his companions of *Amadís de Gaula* there was a flow of romances of chivalry to the Indies which continued until the popularity of the genre waned to give way to the *pícaro*, such as Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*—a “kind of Amadís in reverse”—and finally to the immortal *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. Although Professor Leonard is not satisfied on the point, he feels that there is strong evidence that the entire first edition of *Don Quixote* (1605) came to America. In 1607, a year after a large consignment had reached Peru, this work was so well known that a mock ring joust, with the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance participating, Rosinante and all, was staged in faraway Cuzco, once the capital of the Incas.

One of the chief virtues of this book is the care with which Professor Leonard tells how the Inquisitorial and governmental inspectors operated and how, since the Inquisition was not held in the awe with which it has been invested by Anglo-Saxon tradition, it was possible to bring into America without trouble everything not tending to perpetuate the heresy which was striking Europe at the time of the Conquest. The “Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition” never once interfered in the matter of the “lying histories” and, although the churchmen of those days, and intellectual lights like Luis Vives, made the same plaintive criticism of the popularity of the “fantastic” books of chivalry that they now make about the American motion pictures, they apparently had about the same success against them. Although willing to legislate restrictions involving the intellect, the Spaniards have been as ready as any people in the world to disregard rules which work a hardship. Professor Leonard concludes that, even had the Spanish authorities desired to cut America off from the culture and intellectual ideas of Catholic Europe, the commercial motive of the book dealer would have prevented it.

To weave so absorbing and convincing a story of books and boats, of conquistadors and amazons from the kind of sources with which Dr. Leonard had to work required, in addition to patience, a high order of historical reconstruction and imagination. Dr. Leonard made use of the shipping lists—*registros*—of the *Casa de Contratación* now in the Archives of the Indies, but these are limited, obscure, and paleographically difficult. Lacking the complete files which would have made possible a definite statistical study of book shipments to the New World, he had recourse to scattered book lists preserved because of the requirements of such things as legal investigations, wills, and sales. Professor Leonard deserves much credit for the success with which he has filled out the complex titles

entered in these lists as mere jottings of a word or two. By this method he was not only able to show the wide circulation of novels and other books in the Spanish colonies from the very first, but was able to demonstrate in his study of a Mexican list of 1600 that Copernicus and others as up-to-date—even those on the index—reached Mexico in that year. This means, then, that the so-called cultural lag of the Spanish colonies was never absolute. Dr. Leonard's clear, unaffected style is of a piece with the objective spirit and exacting research shown in this, the culmination of his many studies on the book trade between Spain and the Indies. This fine book is in the best tradition of the writing of Spanish colonial history.

Duke University

JOHN TATE LANNING

¿CONSPIRACIÓN ESPAÑOLA? 1787-1789: CONTRIBUCIÓN AL ESTUDIO DE LAS PRIMERAS RELACIONES HISTÓRICAS ENTRE ESPAÑA Y LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE NORTE AMERICA. By José Navarro Latorre and Fernando Solano Costa. (Saragossa, Spain: Institución Fernando el Católico. 1949. Pp. viii, 359. 80 ptas.)

FOR a long time after the publication of T. M. Green's *The Spanish Conspiracy: A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the Southwest* (Cincinnati, 1891), there was a tendency on the part of American historians to label the intrigues of western separatists, 1786-1795, as a "Spanish" conspiracy. This reviewer must confess a misuse of labels, although not of text, in this respect, such as the chapter title "James Wilkinson and the Spanish Conspiracy," in one of his own publications. Professors J. Navarro Latorre and F. Solano Costa have ransacked the diplomatic files of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, now so clearly ordered, and catalogued and indexed. They have analyzed with great perspicuity James Wilkinson's famous memorial of September 3, 1787, to the Spanish authorities of Louisiana at New Orleans, Governor Estevan Miró and the Intendent Martin Navarro, proposing to separate Kentucky from the United States, under Spanish protection and vassalage. This is the first time that memorial has ever been fully printed, albeit in Spanish translation, although William R. Shepherd long since published selections from the original English in the *American Historical Review*, IX (April, 1904), 498-503. The authors also present a voluminous appendix, over twice as long as the historical text, including annexes to Wilkinson's original proposal, subsequent letters between him and the Spanish provincial authorities, the correspondence of Governor Miró with the Spanish government at Madrid, and the belated official response of that government on December 1, 1788, refusing any open encouragement to the separatists until they could have established their independence of the United States. (Shepherd had also printed English translations of the most important of these in the *American Historical Review*, IX [July, 1904], 748-66.) They further print documents relating to other secessionists than Wilkinson and his henchmen (John Brown, Harry Innes, Benjamin

Sebastian, and Isaac B. Dunn), namely the correspondence with Miró and Navarro and with the Spanish minister in Philadelphia, Don Diego de Gardoqui, of James White, George Rogers Clark, Baron Steuben, Colonel George Morgan, John Sevier, and James Robertson, and other interesting material not elsewhere available in print (concerning the French immigration *empresario*, Wouves d'Agrès, and Lord Dorchester's secret envoy to Kentucky, Colonel John Connally).

The authors argue that the numerous reports of aggressive plots of the men of the western waters to force the navigation of the Mississippi and even attack New Orleans and Florida, explain the enthusiastic support given by Miró and Navarro to Wilkinson's proposal and their recommendation of its adoption by the Spanish government. They are even persuaded that it was a magnificent opportunity which, if followed up by a more intelligent and resolute Spanish government, might have changed the course of American history and thereby of world history (p. 41). But the authorities in Madrid delayed their decision and finally—for reasons of higher polity—would have nothing positive to do with it. Therefore, it was not a "Spanish" conspiracy: it was really a series of frontier intrigues by western separatists in these critical years of the loosely organized American nation.

Certainly this reviewer would put quotation marks around the word "Spanish" in his own chapter title, above mentioned, if he were to have it again reprinted. But as a matter of fact American scholars for the last generation have corrected the mistaken implication of the phrase "Spanish Conspiracy," notably Professor Arthur P. Whitaker in his well-known book, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1763-1795* (Boston, 1927).

If only Spanish libraries would keep as up-to-date in their acquisitions of books by American scholars as American libraries do with the works of Spanish historians! Professors Navarro Latorre and Solano Costa were cruelly handicapped by lack of well-known American publications; not until after their text had got into press did they get hold of Professor Whitaker's book, which twenty years before had laid down their thesis from the same archives and the same documents. There is really no disagreement between these distinguished young Spanish scholars and American historiography on the "Spanish" conspiracy, but it will take some time to get the phrase out of the textbooks, even with the help of these honest Spanish historians. Scholars in the United States will welcome the contribution of their Spanish *confrères* in the Republic of Letters to a theme which may be considered as settled and agreed upon. And they will certainly be glad to have so copiously available the printed texts of these interesting Spanish documents as well as the Spanish translations of letters of the American separatists, the real conspirators. What we need now is a complete documentation out of Spanish archives of the later history of General Wilkinson as a Spanish vassal and pensioner. Perhaps Professors Navarro Latorre and Solano Costa will supply us with this.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

DOCUMENTATION. By *S. C. Bradford*. (Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 156, \$3.00.) To most readers of this *Review* "documentation" probably means the citation of authority or evidence for statements in secondary writings. In Europe, however, and to a lesser extent in the United States, the word has acquired a much broader connotation, and it now may mean anything pertaining to documents, written or printed, original or secondary. Most "documentalists" are specialists, however, and they are inclined to use the word with reference to their special interests, whether they be bibliography, library service, information service, archives administration, indexing, abstracting, classification, reproduction, or other. The author of this book is an officer of the International Federation for Documentation and chairman of the International Commission of the Universal Decimal Classification, and he was until recently keeper of the Science Library in London. His book is an argument for the use of the universal decimal classification for the establishment of bibliographic control over the world's literature in the fields of natural science and technology. He is not sure that there is need for such controls in other fields. Despite this narrowness of interest, the book throws light on the history of an important intellectual movement that was started in the 1890's when Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine founded at Brussels the International Institute of Bibliography, which developed into the International Federation for Documentation, with affiliated organizations in a number of countries.

Solon J. Buck, *Library of Congress*

CRISIS Y PORVENIR DE LA CIENCIA HISTORICA. By *Edmundo O'Gorman*. (Mexico, Imprenta universitaria, 1947, pp. xii, 350.) The problem of the meaning of history which has been debated for centuries is given a new and stimulating turn in this work by Edmundo O'Gorman, Mexican historian, archivist, and man of letters. Señor O'Gorman devotes the first part of his treatment to a critique of the historical school of Ranke. He finds that in his zeal to raise history to the level of a science comparable to the physical sciences, the great German historian has created a history divorced from life, a dry and impersonal study which achieves little. Ranke in his desire to know what had occurred evolved the principle that historical science properly so called must be separated from life as it is lived from day to day. This, in the opinion of Señor O'Gorman, vitiates the whole system. By this artificial approach to the field of historical research the fruits of investigation are not truth, not the actual facts of historical knowledge but an artificial, a priori concept based upon prearranged foundations. This has led, in the estimate of the author, to a historicism which has presented at the very best an anemic facsimile of historical fact. To counteract this false concept as he views it, the author offers the concept of the existentialist philosopher Heidegger that man himself is part and parcel of history. For Heidegger the task of historical science is to show the manner in which men in the past acted, what forces and anterior possibilities motivated them. When one is able to determine these factors one will be able to arrive at the real historical facts. Many questions could be asked here concerning the possibility that existentialism, which is based so completely on the uniqueness of the individual, has any well-defined historical sense. Whatever the

merits of this debatable point may be, Señor O'Gorman is quite convinced that there is in the existentialist world a definite place for historical interpretations. Once historical method based upon the continuity of the individual in history is evolved, the Mexican scholar believes that one may attain to a closer approximation of historical truth than has been heretofore possible. On the whole, however one may react to the opinions set forth, the book is extremely thought-provoking and challenging. In the opinion of this reviewer it merits a careful translation into English.

THOMAS E. DOWNEY, *University of Notre Dame*

TEORIA DA HISTÓRIA DO BRASIL. By José Honório Rodrigues. (São Paulo, Instituto Progresso Editorial, 1949, pp. 355.) In *Teoria da história do Brasil*, José Honório Rodrigues has produced both an introduction to historical method and a guide to historiography, intended for Brazilian students at an advanced level. Showing a wide knowledge of the bibliography of both subjects, as well as abundant historical background, the author condenses the results of his extensive reading into a useful synthesis. Beginning with a satisfactory *apologia* for history and its value, Rodrigues then proceeds to a short but serviceable survey of historical writing from the most ancient times to the twentieth century. Much attention is given to "diverse types of history": political, institutional, economic, ecclesiastical, biographical, and many others. The author takes up various philosophies and views of history, stressing the work of such well-known giants as Ranke, Buckle, Comte, Lamprecht, Dilthey, Troeltsch, Spengler, Huizinga, Croce, and Marx. Rodrigues next comes to the main theme of his work: the examination of Brazilian historical study, both in the light of his own preliminary investigations and in that of the methods followed by his country's historians. Most of the headings covered—such as sources, auxiliary disciplines, methodology, forgeries, falsifications, and textual criticism—have often been handled by such scholars as Seignobos and others with European or North American backgrounds. What most readers will find new in the Rodrigues presentation is the practice of drawing the concrete examples to illustrate historical method from Portuguese and Brazilian history and historians. And even those somewhat acquainted with Herculano, Varnhagen, Capistrano de Abreu, and Oliveira Lima, will find fresh points of view to consider here. Historical scholars in Brazil, both young and old, should welcome a work of this type based mainly on their own national past. Those in the United States, to the extent that they are able to read Portuguese, will recognize a worthy addition to the limited list of good books on historical method.

CHARLES E. NOWELL, *University of Illinois*

THE COMMERCE OF NATIONS. By J. B. Condliffe, Professor of Economics, University of California. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1950, pp. xi, 884, \$7.50.) This is a timely and scholarly study of the problems of international trade. It is valuable both for the historian and the economist, particularly the student of international trade. The historian will find a good survey of the growth of commerce from the earliest time to the present. The economist will find a statement and analysis of economic theory regarding the conduct of trade in the Middle Ages, the policies advocated by the mercantilists, the influence of Adam Smith, the contributions of the classical economists, the doctrines of the dissenters, and the ideas of John Maynard Keynes and other modern economists. The book is based upon sound research and, although the author may have overemphasized the importance of the trader in shaping economic and social institutions, it is not a biased economic interpretation of history. The author gives due consideration to political, social, and other factors in his discussion of international economic problems. The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with

the historical origins of trade. In this section the author describes briefly the trade of the ancient and medieval world; the impetus given to trade by the crusades; the regulation of trade with the rise of the nation-state; the expansion of the world in the fifteenth century; and the evolution and principles of the mercantile system. There is a good summary of Adam Smith's attack upon mercantilist restrictions on trade. The author claims that Adam Smith was not as thorough a believer in laissez-faire as his followers claimed. Part II is devoted to the tremendous expansion of foreign trade in the nineteenth century following the Industrial Revolution. The author points out the limitations of the theories of the classical economists owing to their neglect to take into account the social consequences of the Industrial Revolution upon the working class; the assumptions upon which the classical theory of international trade was based; the rise of the London money market as the nerve center of world trade and investment; the part played by the merchant in the campaign for free trade and the adoption of the gold standard; and the movement toward protection in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Part III emphasizes the vital international economic problems created as a result of two world wars. In this section are described the disruptive effects of these wars upon world trade, the growth of economic nationalism between the wars, the challenge of Soviet Russia, the interest in economic planning due to Keynes, and the industrialization of undeveloped areas. In Part IV the author discusses some of the international economic questions of today. He raises the question as to whether the extension of loans by the United States government to the distressed peoples in Europe and Asia will cure their economic difficulties or whether the only way by which these countries can increase their productivity is by the acquiring of improved technical skills and improved methods of economic organization. He stresses the need to restore world trade on a competitive economic basis in order to ensure the success of the European Recovery Plan. He points out that both private enterprise and government must play a part in the restoration of world trade. This is an important book in the field of international trade.

REGINALD C. McGRANE, *University of Cincinnati*

MACEDONIA: ITS PLACE IN BALKAN POWER POLITICS. By *Elisabeth Barker*. (London and New York, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950, pp. 129, \$1.00.) The chief contribution of this brief but important study is its analysis of the Macedonian question in Communist theory and practice. Macedonia, with its mixed population, its fertile plains, and its strategic location, has been the most important single factor influencing inter-Balkan relations since the middle of the nineteenth century. Prior to World War I the problem of what should be done with Macedonia was complicated by the conflicting claims of Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia, by the autonomist aspirations of the IMRO, and by the periodic interventions of the Great Powers. In the interwar years the Communists added to the confusion with their propaganda for an independent Macedonia in a Communist Balkan Federation. Today, with the northern Balkans under Communist domination, Communist views and policies concerning Macedonia are of decisive importance. Miss Barker shows that the Communist theory of international proletarian unity has been as incapable of resolving the Macedonian problem as the numerous nineteenth century plans for Balkan unity. Communist dissension concerning Macedonia is not a by-product of the Tito schism. During most of the interwar period the Comintern congresses passed resolutions favoring a "United Independent Macedonia" in a Communist Balkan Federation. The Bulgarian Communist party enthusiastically supported this position for obvious reasons, but the Greek and Yugoslav parties protested repeatedly and remained unreconciled to this formula, even though paying lip service under compulsion. This

difference of opinion continued and increased during World War II and after. Tito has insisted on the long-term solution of a united Macedonia under Yugoslav aegis. Moscow at first accepted this program, partly because of the military contributions of the Partisans, and then rejected it following the rift with Tito. At present Moscow's position is obscure while the Greek and Bulgarian party leaders await a signal before taking a positive stand. The author's statement that the Macedonian question came into being with the establishment of the Exarchate in 1870 may be disputed as both Prince Michael and certain Bulgarian revolutionaries were claiming Macedonia in the preceding decade. The analysis of the post-World War II developments is necessarily tentative because of the absence or unavailability of sufficient material. Thus the account of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav party relations is based largely on a Belgrade publication, while the section on the Greek party depends in large part on the work of the British officer, Colonel C. M. Woodhouse. In the latter case, at least, Greek sources presenting a different viewpoint are available, though difficult to obtain. Many readers also will wish that a study of such an involved and little-known subject had been provided with an appendix. These, however, are minor objections. The author is to be congratulated for a clear and objective analysis of a most obscure as well as significant problem. This is by far the most thorough and dependable study of the latest phase of the history of Macedonia.

L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

GREEK ALTARS: ORIGINS AND TYPOLOGY, INCLUDING THE MINOAN-MYCENAEAN OFFERTORY APPARATUS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. By *Constantine G. Yavis*, Assistant Professor of Archaeology and Classics, Saint Louis University. [St. Louis University Studies, Monograph Series: Humanities, No. 1.] (St. Louis, St. Louis University Press, 1949,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

pp. xxiii, 266, plates, cloth \$6.00, paper \$5.00.) In this work, the emphasis lies on the archaeological remains of Greek altars, from prehistoric times to the Roman period. A long first chapter deals with the bronze-age material, and reaches the conclusion that blood sacrifice was not practiced in the pre-Hellenic Aegean, a belief which is supported by the absence of altars from Minoan-Mycenaean cult apparatus. The remaining three chapters catalogue and classify Hellenic altars: pre-classical "autochthonous" (chap. II) and "non-autochthonous" (chap. III) types, and classical and post-classical (chap. IV). Reference to the separate entries, the arrangement of which seems at times unduly cumbersome and repetitive, is facilitated by the excellent synoptic tables and indexes at the end. The author properly subordinates other matters to his primary task of putting the actual specimens in order. Illustrations of altars on reliefs and in vase-paintings are used selectively, to supplement the main body of material. Much remains to be done here (enough for another book), especially with the vase-paintings, and there is still need, as Yavis says, for a fuller correlation of the literary and epigraphical evidence. On the origins of Hellenic altar forms, Yavis is inclined to discount Asiatic influence (pp. 88 f.), but this question also deserves more detailed analysis. Dating is on the whole discreetly handled, except that the dates given for the earliest Hellenic altars seem rather optimistic. For example, Altar I of the Samian Heraion is dated tenth century B.C. (p. 59), and it is elsewhere stated (p. 96) that this site "was continuously occupied from pre-Hellenic times"; but cf. Hanfmann, *AJA.* 53 (1938), pp. 146, 154-55. One or two corrections may be noted: P. 135, no. 10: Louvre E 799 ("Chalcidian volute amphora") belongs to the Polyphemus Group (Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, p. 161, IV and pl. 207); the usual name for this shape is "ovoid neck-amphora." P. 216: for "aediculum" (twice), read "aedicula." P. 224, Ludovisi-Boston reliefs: to references, add Carpenter, *MAAR.* XVIII (1941), pp. 41-61. Yavis' study, which grew out of a Johns Hopkins dissertation, is a credit to the St. Louis University Press, and a happy omen for the new series which it introduces.

D. A. AMYX, *University of California*

MEDICINE THROUGHOUT ANTIQUITY. By Benjamin Lee Gordon, M.D. Foreword by Dr. Max Neuburger. (Philadelphia, F. A. Davis, 1949, pp. xvii, 818, \$6.00.) Divided into two major parts and thirty-one chapters, this book attempts to survey the entire field of ancient medicine from its earliest origins through Greco-Roman times. In part one, "Prehistoric and Protohistoric Medicine," the author discusses in discursive and somewhat repetitive fashion the antiquity of disease, paleolithic evidence of the antiquity of disease, prehistoric medicine, where again paleopathology is discussed, primitive concepts of disease and death, and nature worship and medicine. Then comes a series of chapters on Assyro-Babylonian medicine, Egyptian medicine, medicine among the Hebrews, Persians, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese, and among the prehistoric Amerinds. Part two is devoted to a detailed account of medicine among the Greeks and Romans and concludes with an extensive review of Talmudic medicine. The book is lavishly illustrated but unfortunately in many of the portraits of ancient physicians the captions carry little if any documentation which might enable the reader to check the authenticity of the picture. In addition numerous pictures are of the type issued by drug houses in their advertising literature, providing a Hollywood version of how the doctors of antiquity might have appeared in attending their patients. Despite the fact that this book gives evidence of a considerable erudition on the part of the author it must be used with caution. Dr. Gordon exhibits a tendency, common to many medical men who have made a hobby of medical history, to ascribe to the ancients knowledge and wisdom far beyond what was actually the case. This book provides, by example, another strong argument for increased attention to the

study of the history of medicine and of science and for more adequate historical training for those scientists and medical men who devote themselves to the study of the history of their specialties.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND, *Library of Congress*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

THE THIRD KING. By *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York, William Sloane, 1950, pp. 313, \$4.00.) This is an unconventional but most entertaining story of one of Denmark's picturesque medieval kings, Valdemar IV, Atterdag. This surname, incidentally, was bestowed by the chronicler Huitfeldt on the king as the man who again (*atter*) brought *dag*—better times—to Denmark. The age of the Valdemars has left deep traces in Danish and Scandinavian history. The first Valdemar (1157–1182) with his friend, the warrior-bishop Absalom, founded Copenhagen as a defense against the Slavic Wends. The “Third King,” Valdemar IV (1340–1375), resisted with considerable success his German enemies to the south, his Swedish rivals to the north, and the Jutland lords within his domain. It was an age of disconcerting changes when strong leadership in one generation would be followed by a disintegrating anarchy in another. Valdemar IV's claim to fame lay in the fact that he proved able by his patient farsightedness and skillful leadership to pull his oft-threatened state out of a well-nigh hopeless tangle of conflicting interests and to provide it with a solid institutional base which proved strong enough to permit it not merely to survive but to play an important part in the history of the North. Against the background of a troubled era when Denmark was in danger of dissolution, Fletcher Pratt has had the courage to tackle what is to him a new field and to portray the king who managed to save so much from the wreckage. While giving his readers a quite detailed account of a limited period of Danish history, he makes no pretense of having produced a historical monograph replete with footnotes, bibliographies, and critical discussions of disputed points. He has obviously consulted many of the modern Danish histories and has gone back to some of the contemporary sources for apt quotations, but, with the general reader chiefly in mind, he has spiced his sober, documented facts with time-honored legends—like that of Tove—and frequent dashes of plausible historical fiction. He ties the story of Valdemar's Denmark in with the larger European scene, a task made easier by the extensive travels of his hero, who knew at first hand the imperial court, the Roman curia, and even that goal of crusaders, distant Jerusalem. Whether Marsiglio of Padua's ideas of government by consent can be detected in actual operation in Valdemar's regime (pp. 92 f.) may be difficult to prove, but there is no denying that the author makes a good case in ascribing much of the king's success to his use of a carefully chosen *Rigsraad*—a useful instrument for the peripatetic king.

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

He makes clear the essential difference between the disintegrating feudalism of *Faustrecht* prevalent in the neighboring German lands and the Danish type of feudal organization in which the king kept the guiding control. Valdemar Atterdag's considerable success in achieving a degree of integration of his country is the underlying theme of Pratt's thrilling story. His book provides a well-written and generally reliable introduction to a little known but important era in northern European history.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, *University of California, Los Angeles*

KRONOAVSÖNDRINGAR UNDER ÄLDRE MEDELTID. By *Jerker Rosén*. [Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, XLVI.] (Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949, pp. 206, kr. 16.) This study of grants of land and regalian rights made by Swedish kings is concerned primarily with the two centuries from 1162 to 1363. The documents extant enable the author to summarize, one by one (pp. 131-74), 181 such donations. His discourse moves along two main lines—analysis of the ideas which seemed to govern these alienations and grants and of the restrictions which, in the second half of the period, seemed to limit their incidence. The reign of Magnus Ladulås (1274-90) was intermediate. Before his time and to some extent in his day grants in perpetuity, though restricted very much to religious beneficiaries, were made with some frequency; after his day the grants, now much restricted to laymen, were made in return for service, while allodial grants or outright sales were forbidden. This change-over, the author believes, was related to several contemporary factors: the need of the western church for larger revenues, the expanding use of royal administrative fiefs, the increasing reliance of the monarchy on taxes. The restriction placed on royal alienation was a manifestation of the opposing pressures exerted by the two leading estates, each seeking to use the crown as a fulcrum. Lay magnates were determined to hold off further grants to churchmen since these would likely entail compensatory levies on lay holdings. On this matter of restricting alienations Rosén's conclusions are at issue with most earlier opinions, which have held that crown lands and rights were extensively dissipated throughout the period here covered. In his present inquiry the author, with adequate indexes and a comprehensive bibliography, has added a worthy monograph to earlier studies he has made on this period of Swedish history.

OSCAR J. FALNES, *New York University*

JEWRY-LAW IN MEDIEVAL GERMANY: LAWS AND COURT DECISIONS CONCERNING JEWS. By *Guido Kisch*. [Texts and Studies, Volume III.] (New York, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1949, pp. xiv, 274.) This book by Professor Guido Kisch is a collection of laws and court decisions prepared by him as a companion volume to *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status* (Chicago, 1949); the work presents the source materials that have been expounded and interpreted in the main study as to the light they throw upon the social, legal, and economic history of a religious minority. This collection of medieval laws and cases from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century had its beginning in the author's studies at Leipzig, Königsberg, Prague, and Halle prior to his coming to the United States in 1933. Above all, the area of the *Magdeburger Recht*, Saxony, northern Germany, and the lands east of it, are represented in these sources, while the Rhenish and Austrian provinces of medieval Germany are omitted (cf. Scherer's *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den Deutsch-Österr. Ländern* [Leipzig, 1901] which fills the gap for the latter). Since for so many centuries the cities of the Rhineland were the centers of German as well as of Jewish life, this limitation is to be regretted. This reviewer would also have wanted the book to contain glossaries of

termini technici for medieval Law German and Law Latin, since without this apparatus its usefulness is restricted to the few familiar with these languages and dialects. Quite naturally, some of these difficulties are obviated by the parallel references and English translations which are found in the interpretative study as mentioned above. In all other respects, however, this book is a model of research never faltering as to the best canons of investigation and presentation. It was a worthy decision of the Academy of Jewish Research to have made these sources available to the interested scholar.

FRANK ROSENTHAL, *Drake University*

PIERWSZE PAŃSTWO SŁOWIAŃSKIE: PAŃSTWO SAMONA [LE PREMIER ÉTAT SLAVE (ÉTAT DE SAMON)]. By *Gerard Labuda*. [Biblioteka Historyczna, IV.] (Poznań, Księgarnia Akademicka, 1949, pp. vii, 357.) Professor Labuda, well known thanks to his studies on the origins of the Polish state, has now undertaken comparative investigations into the formation of the Slavic states in general. As for the earliest of these states, created by Samo in the first half of the seventh century, the only primary source is the chronicle of Fredegar, whose brief references to Samo have been discussed many times. If nevertheless Professor Labuda has written such a big volume about that problem, it is not only because he has critically reviewed the controversial hypotheses of so many scholars from various countries but mainly because he arrived at entirely new conclusions. In his opinion, Samo was neither a Slav nor a Frank, but a Romanized Celt, and his state, which had as its nucleus not Carinthia but Moravia, probably survived for two centuries to find its continuation in the well-known Moravian empire of the Moimirs. There is hardly any important problem of early Slavic history which the author has not touched in this painstaking research work, based upon a bibliography where even the latest publications are included, with F. Dvornik's recent book on *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London, 1949) briefly discussed in the preface. The role of the Avars and the controversial origins of Serbs and Croats receive special attention. There is a fairly detailed French summary, as well as two helpful maps. No medievalist can miss this important publication.

O. HALECKI, *Fordham University*

POCZATKI KLASZTORU CYSTERSÓW W SULEJOWIE: STUDIA NAD DOKUMENTAMI, FUNDACJA I ROZWOJEM UPOSAŻENIA DO KOŃCA XIII WIEKU [The Origins of the Cistercian Monastery at Sulejów: a Study of its Charters, Foundation, and Development to the End of the Thirteenth Century]. By *Józef Mitkowski*. [Prace Komisji Historycznej, XV.] (Poznań, Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1949, pp. x, 410.) Before describing the early history of the famous Cistercian monastery founded in 1176 by the Polish duke Casimir the Just, Professor Mitkowski found it necessary to study, in 130 pages, seventy-five charters issued between 1176 and 1298, in order to distinguish authentic from spurious documents and their original texts from later interpolations. A list of these documents and the critically established texts of forty of them, partly never published before, are given as appendixes and followed by a comprehensive bibliography, a French summary, and an excellent index. Six plates with photographic reproductions from original documents, statistical charts, and detailed maps accompany the book, which must be considered a masterpiece of erudition and historical method. Particularly important from the point of view of economic history, the study also leads to very interesting conclusions as to the cultural role of the French Cistercians from Morimond who settled in Poland in the critical period of dynastic divisions and German colonization. They always remained loyal to the descendants of the founder of the monastery and sided with the Polish population in opposition to German influence. Their rivalry

with German Cistercians, which probably made impossible the planned missionary activities in Prussia, ended in the transfer of the monks from Sulejów to Byszew, but Sulejów eventually remained with other French Cistercians from the monastery of Wąchock.

O. HALECKI, *Fordham University*

LES FRANÇAIS EN ESPAGNE AUX XI^e ET XII^e SIÈCLES. By *Marcelin Defourneaux*, Directeur-adjoint de l'Institut Français de Madrid. (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1949, pp. viii, 333, 800 fr.) For two principal reasons other than limited data the significance of French participation in the reconquest and Europeanization of medieval Iberia has long been difficult to evaluate: a scattered literature of quite uneven value, and wide divergence of view between such French scholars as Boissonade and Valous, who regard medieval peninsular history as another *Gesta Dei per Francos*, and Spanish-Portuguese historians who in sheer national self-defense have tended to minimize French contributions or underscore their less happy aspects. Both these barriers are hurdled in this useful book which synthesizes successfully a mass of primary and secondary materials and does so with singular objectivity and freedom from nationalistic bias. After a brief account of Muslim and Christian Spain ca. 1000, five substantial, lucidly organized chapters trace French activity during the crucial eleventh and twelfth centuries in these main fields: Cluniac and Cistercian penetration, with its political, religious, and cultural consequences; the organization and literature of the great pilgrimage route to Compostella; French intervention in the "crusades" against the Moor; French colonization in Spain and Portugal, as affected by dynastic alliances, the creation of French seigneuries and the settlement of French nobles, peasants, monks, and townsmen; and, finally, French trans-Pyrenean exploits in their effects upon the Charlemagne cycle in French and Spanish epic poetry. Frequent assessments of the scale and consequences of French influence demonstrate how greatly it varied according to geographic region and the field of civilization. Aragon and Navarre appear most affected, and doubtless Catalonia also, although Defourneaux strangely neglects this presumably strongly Gallicized area. In religious and cultural development the French factor was prominent but hardly as ubiquitous as often asserted, while in politics, warfare, colonization, and social-economic changes it was definitely limited and ephemeral. The book has its weak points: failure to use the indispensable Haskins on the Arabic translators; inadequate treatment of peasant colonization, with little or no attention to French elements in Luso-Hispanic feudalism, manorialism, and agrarian technology; no discussion of Franco-Spanish trade connections; and insufficient consideration of French influence in the *fueros*, communal revolts (e.g., at Compostella and Salamanca) and municipal and guild organization. Art and architecture are ignored. But these shortcomings by no means outweigh the book's merit as a richly informative, finely balanced presentation of France's role in the shaping of medieval Spain and Portugal.

C. J. BISHKO, *University of Virginia*

ACTES DES PRINCES-ÉVÊQUES DE LIÈGE: HUGHES DE PIERREPONT, 1200-1229. By *Edouard Poncelet*. [Recueil des Actes des Princes belges.] (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1941-46, pp. xcvi, 314.) These 279 letters close and patent issued by Bishop Hugh de Pierrepont of the diocese of Liège from 1200 to 1229, provided with an extensive introduction and critical notes, possess great interest from many points of view. As bishop, seigneur, and prince, Hugh was a person of consequence, acting in numerous and diverse capacities. Skillful administrator of decisive action, he made a splendid career among the greater princes of the day. Before his episcopate the bishop's authority even in secular affairs extended

pretty well over his entire diocese. But beginning with Hugh's incumbency the exercise of this authority became restricted to properties directly dependent on the church of St. Lambert. Great personages such as the duke of Brabant no longer participated directly in the councils of the see or in those of the *pays de Liège*. Henceforth the canons of St. Lambert alone elected the bishop of the see. But the bishop's power gained thereby. Henceforth his ministerials, officials who held their posts on the basis of heredity, were replaced by men chosen to suit his pleasure. The bishop turned to the task of strengthening his position; and most of the documents here printed deal with such problems as the acquisition of the county of Moha and the allodial property at St. Trond, the infeudation of the county of Looz (Loon), the guardianship over Johanna of Constantinople, the countess of Flanders and Hainault, the fortification of the *cité* of Liège, relations with the canons of St. Lambert, and dealings with the bourgeoisie of the *cité* of Liège. The documents have been prepared with great paleographical skill. A note is added relating to the dating of these letters, some according to the Nativity style, a few according to the Easter style.

HENRY S. LUCAS, *University of Washington*

THE MEDICI. By *Ferdinand Schevill*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1949, pp. xi, 240, \$4.00.) In his recent book on *The Medici*, Professor Schevill deals with the same developments which he treated on the last 170 pages of his earlier *History of Florence* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII [July, 1937], 723), and he tells the story very much in the same way—sometimes even in the same words. The political parts have been somewhat condensed, while the sections on art and literature have been extended—these are the chief differences between the two works. Because of these similarities, a detailed review of the new volume seems superfluous. Still it might be mentioned that the first two chapters of the new book, which outline the events preceding the rise of the Medici to power, contain a remarkably clear survey of the Florentine constitutional development and should be useful as “assigned reading” in courses on the Renaissance. On the other hand, a certain drawback of the present book is that, because of its exclusive concentration on the individualities of the Medici family, these extraordinary personalities become rather isolated from the historical background; they appear too independent from their class, from the social groupings and economic forces of their time, and, in its general effect, the book seems much more traditional, much more remote from modern scholarly research than the *History of Florence*. It is gratifying to the professional historian that an acknowledged authority in the field has now provided a book which will satisfy the perennial demand of Italian pilgrims for a history of the Medici. We hope that, in future editions, which this very readable book will certainly have, the “short selective reading list” will mention Camerani's much too little known *Bibliografia Medicea* which can serve as a guide to those who become interested in special problems of the Medici history.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Leland H. Carlson¹

HAWKINS OF PLYMOUTH: A NEW HISTORY OF SIR JOHN HAWKINS AND OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY PROMINENT IN TUDOR ENGLAND. By James A. Williamson. (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1949, pp. xi, 348, 25s.) Some twenty years ago Dr. Williamson wrote an excellent biography of Sir John Hawkins, directed primarily to scholars and revealing an easy mastery of the available sources on the subject. The book is now out of print. The volume under review is something more than a second edition and something less than a new book. It is much shorter than its prototype and is directed to a larger reading audience. Though the material is entirely recast there is very little in it that is new—a few details from Spanish sources and three additional portraits of Hawkins, two of them of doubtful authenticity and the third, a rather crude engraving from a rare book published some thirty years after Hawkins died. Dr. Williamson has not changed in any essential particular his original appraisal of Hawkins and the world he lived in, except perhaps to temper a little the note of asperity toward Drake revealed in his earlier writing. He still presents Burghley as the chief supporter of Hawkins in the Privy Council. This may have been true at the outset, but as Burghley grew older he became increasingly hostile to bold aggressive measures of any sort. Actually, the connection of the Elizabethan soldiers and sailors, particularly in the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign, was much closer to the more belligerent faction in her council. Hawkins, who was more discreet than Drake, found it expedient to cultivate Burghley's good will. But Hawkins clearly recognized and at times in his correspondence revealed the fact that his dependable supporters were of the other faction. Nevertheless, this is a first-rate book, certainly much the best book we have on the subject. While it rests firmly upon the documentation of its earlier version, it will in its amended form probably convey much better to the average reader that love of maritime adventure, that salty lure of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

the sea, which was so characteristic of the Elizabethan sea-dogs and which has ever since occupied a conspicuous place in the English tradition.

CONYERS READ, *University of Pennsylvania*

JOHN KNOX'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND. Edited by *William Croft Dickinson*. In two volumes. (Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1949, pp. cix, 374; 498, £4 4s. per set.) The first edition of this work appeared in 1586-87, and there have been many since, the best of which is that prepared by David Laing just over a century ago. Two attempts to attract the general reader have been made in recent years. Yet the work remains largely unknown. In the present *History* Dr. Dickinson has produced an admirable edition which lies midway between the popular works, tending as they do to water Knox down, and the austere pages of Laing, repelling all but the most studious readers by an abundance of footnotes and a meticulous adherence to Knox's "wild and erratic" orthography. Laing's transcript, occasionally corrected from the manuscript, has been used; but, while vernacular words and phrases have not been tampered with, the spelling has been generally modernized. Certain passages not from Knox's pen (as Foxe's account of the martyrdom of Wishart) have been relegated to appendixes. Nearly a hundred pages are devoted to introductory sections in which the editor comments upon the man and his book in relation to various aspects of the Reformation and of Scottish history, and provides a careful analysis of the earliest surviving manuscript (of 1566). Concerning Knox as man and historian, Dr. Dickinson regards him, as others have done, as "a man single in purpose, of a hard fibre, inflexible, tenacious, and, above all, of complete assurance that his cause and his interpretation of that cause is alone that which is right." He readily admits that narrow hatreds diminished his stature, and that a consuming zeal impelled him toward such errors of omission and commission as mar Book II, which is described as a "party pamphlet" in defense of Scottish Protestantism. That Knox, with scrupulous regard for his sources, could write "more reasoned and trustworthy" history is demonstrated, Dr. Dickinson maintains, in Book III; but he leaves us with the expected warning that "the critical reader must always be on his guard and must always, where possible, seek the confirmation of other contemporary accounts."

WILLIAM L. SACHSE, *University of Wisconsin*

FRANCIS BACON, PHILOSOPHER OF INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE. By *Benjamin Farrington*. [Life of Science Library.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1949, pp. xii, 202, \$3.50.) The "Life of Science Library," of which this is the eleventh volume, is a series designed to introduce the general reader to the history of scientific thought and development through books written by scholars but addressed to a popular audience. This new life of Francis Bacon is therefore not to be appraised as a contribution to our knowledge of the facts of Bacon's career but for the value of its interpretation and emphasis. Here it should do much to correct lingering misconceptions of Bacon's place in the history of science and philosophy. Whereas the tendency of earlier writers was to extol Bacon as a pioneer in the philosophy of scientific method, concentrating attention upon the *Novum Organum*, which was only a portion of the larger plan of the *Instauratio Magna*, more recent scholarship has shown not only that Bacon was relatively ignorant of the active science of his own day but that the method expounded in the *Novum Organum*, if strictly applied, is not the method that has promoted rapid scientific progress, either in the sixteenth century or the twentieth. Professor Farrington, on the other hand, rightly insists throughout his book that Bacon's real contribution was the greatness of his vision of the practical goal of science—the relief of man's estate—and the singleness of purpose with which he insisted on his thesis that through

systematic planning science could bring about a rapid transformation in the material conditions of human life. Frequently wrong about the most effective methods for attaining his goal, he was nevertheless the most eloquent and influential propagandist for organized scientific research. Although he mentions others of Bacon's age who expounded similar ideas without incorporating them in a plan of the grandeur of *The Great Instauration*, Professor Farrington could have further improved the argument of an excellent book by emphasizing more fully the strength of the tradition of co-operation between artisans and scientists for the promotion of scientific discoveries that had developed in sixteenth century England and the frequency with which material progress through science was cited as the mark of the superiority of that age over the past. Especially in England was the time ripe in 1600 for a work of synthesis such as Bacon's. It was the world of ideas in which the youthful Bacon found himself that probably determined the early choice of his ambitious goal.

FRANCIS R. JOHNSON, *Stanford University*

THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON. Edited by J. Milton French. Volume I, 1608-1639. [Rutgers Studies in English, No. 7.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1949, pp. x, 446, \$5.00.) Professor French has narrowly circumscribed the circle of his endeavor. His appeal is limited to those who wish a friendly and comprehensive guide to research in the records of John Milton's life. Nevertheless, so completely has he filled with facts his circle, using industry, intelligence, and a nice skill in translation, that he places future biographers under heavy obligation. No one whose work is now complete but will regret having started on his journey without this *vade mecum*. Already well known as a Milton scholar, the editor launches this first of four volumes of life records with singular modesty. Choosing Bacon as his model, he accounts himself content "to tune the instruments of the muses that they may play that have better hands." It well may be that, like Bacon, he has proved himself an innovator and created in this unique source book a new genus for the creation of biographical literature. He chronicles the period 1608 through July, 1639. It is revealing to note the variety of material in his repository, its diversity of languages and records. Nor is the material purely verbal. There is music—collections to which the elder Milton added; there are architectural drawings, such as those of the Bread Street dwelling, interpreted so knowingly by Noel Blakiston; and portraits by contemporaries. In verbal material, wherever possible, transcriptions have been made from originals and accurately labeled. Spelling and punctuation have been preserved when not in inconvenient conflict with readable type. For clarification the editor provides in his preface a key to his "semi-shorthand." In the index he reveals the system of abbreviations employed at the Public Record Office. A gentle reasonableness is apparent in the inclusion of well-known gossip even when ill-founded. The omission might trap the unwary into mistaking, as genuine, fool's gold uncovered in research. The chronological presentation appears in the main judicious, though sometimes forcing repetition and unduly splitting subject matter that has natural cohesion. Regrettable are the wanderings of one Rose Downer who appears on seventy pages before her tale is told. Thanks are due to the Rutgers University Research Council for subsidizing the scheme and to the respective presses of Rutgers and Princeton universities for producing a format unusually attractive. Though nineteen years in compilation, the work is not so comprehensive as to leave to future biographers only pursuit of innumerable references. Rather, it stimulates. It leaves outside its scope certain imponderables: What effect on John Milton had the sounds of London—the cries of its hawkers, the concord and resonance of its bells, the rhythm of its traffic? What did his seeing eye retain, for darker years, of the miracles of light and shade? What impressions on the

young man's senses were left by the hue and fragrance of the flowerets of the countryside? In such speculations one is left the privilege of making error, or, God willing, of approaching truth.

DORA NEILL RAYMOND, *London, England*

BOOKS OF SURVEY AND DISTRIBUTION: BEING ABSTRACTS OF VARIOUS SURVEYS AND INSTRUMENTS OF TITLE, 1636-1703. Volume I, COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON. Prepared for Publication with Introductory Notes by *Robert C. Simington*. (Dublin, Stationery Office for Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1949, pp. lvii, 181, £2 15s.) Among the valuable records in the Public Record Office in Dublin is a complete set (20 vols.) of Books of Survey and Distribution, which were in official use for many decades in the Quit Rent Office. These books, containing abstracts from surveys, instruments of title, and other documents of the Commonwealth, Restoration, and Revolution periods, give detailed information on land holdings, and the distribution of forfeited lands, in every county of Ireland in the seventeenth century. The present volume for Roscommon is the first of the Books of Survey and Distribution to be published for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. The text presents, in statistical form, the names of landed proprietors in 1641, the size and character of their holdings, and the names of grantees under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation of 1662 and 1665 with markings to indicate the titles of dispositions—e.g., decrees, certificates and patents, trustees' sales, etc.). In some instances purchasers of lands forfeited in 1688 and Commission of Grace grantees (1664-68) are also listed. An excellent introduction by the editor and an index of lands in each parish and barony of Roscommon precede the text. An index of persons and a supplementary index of lands are given at the end of the volume. Included also are an outline map of Roscommon, showing approximate boundaries at the time of Charles II, and three large maps, reproduced by the Ordnance Survey, of the baronies of Athlone, Moycarnan, and part of Ballintober. These latter are sections of the "Map of the Government of Athlone," believed to be maps of the Stafford Survey of Connacht (about 1636-37).

NORMAN D. PALMER, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE JUSTICIARY RECORDS OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES, 1664-1705. Volume I. Transcribed and edited, with an Introduction by *John Cameron*. (Edinburgh, J. Skinner for Stair Society, 1949, pp. xxxi, 240.) This is the first of two volumes which will give a transcription of "The Book of Adjournal of the Shirefdome of Argyll, Iles and others." It contains copies of the minutes of court proceedings as recorded by the clerk of the court along with all acts of adjournal, commissions of judges and officials, and other important documents. Thus for the period covered by the present volume, October 19, 1664, to October 16, 1679, we are given a picture of the state of crime and its punishment in the west highlands of Scotland. To those who are interested in English law, this volume should contain much of value for comparison. It gives an interesting picture of both the methods of trial and the punishments exacted in Scottish courts just prior to the Union of 1707. The usual executions for robbery, cattle-stealing and similar crimes appear. But, at the same time, not nearly the commonly supposed number of cases of adultery and witchcraft seem to have come before Scottish courts. The procedure of the courts is also shown very clearly, demonstrating the contrast of Scottish to English practice. While there are indexes of personal and geographical names, a further index of subjects would be of very great use.

W. STANFORD REID, *McGill University*

FREEDOM AND PLANNING IN AUSTRALIA. By *A. Campbell Garnett*. (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949, pp. x, 331, \$4.00.) This book is, essentially,

a social history of Australia with the emphasis on the labor movement as the main engineer of social experiments. A short, adequate survey of the earliest social conditions and the constitutional history of Australia serves as background for the description and understanding of the nation's social progress. The major stages of this progress are interestingly discussed in interpretative and, where necessary, descriptive fashion: the rise of the labor movement, the handling of the great depression of the thirties, labor legislation, the institutions of the "Social Service State," and full employment policy. In two chapters the basic political concepts and attitudes of the Australian people are succinctly summarized. A. Grenfell Price, Colin G. Kerr, P. J. Abbott, W. C. Taylor, and Lloyd Ross, outstanding Australian politicians, describe the three major political parties. The author concludes that the "Social Service State" is nearing completion in Australia and that the main political battles will be fought over the question whether the next stage is to be "complete socialism" or "a framework of social security within which an economy of private enterprise can function successfully" (p. 198). The author is in sympathy with his native Australia and the labor achievements. He tends to underemphasize the seamy side of Australian labor, such as backward economic practices, strong partisan politics, and neglect of research, planning, and education once power was gained. He tends to exaggerate Australian leadership in social progress. There are nations which reached a high stage of social development before Australia did. Australia's reputation as a pioneer in this field was justly acquired in the early years of this century, but thereafter and until the thirties Australian developments were lagging behind many other nations. The book's title is somewhat misleading, and some concepts such as socialism and planning are used loosely. However, the book's contents are informative and valuable.

WERNER LEVI, *University of Minnesota*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

LA MONARCHIE PARLEMENTAIRE, 1815-1848. By *Félix Ponteil*. [Collection Armand Colin, Section d'Histoire et Sciences économiques, no. 256.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1949, pp. 222, 180 fr.) Those who cherish fond memories of days spent in a French university classroom will read with delight this history of France from 1815 to 1848 by Professor Ponteil of the University of Strasbourg. He has the marvelous ability to crystallize lectures into written form without losing any of the vibrant terseness, the polished eloquence, and the lucid clarity for which French professors are noted. Although Professor Ponteil narrates with methodical carefulness the rise and fall of ministry after ministry, this is no ordinary *texte du cours*. The wealth of detail provides a solid basis for a conclusion that will be a revelation to most American historians. The July Revolution was not a mere *coup d'état*, as commonly stated; and the Revolution of 1848 was far more than an accidental street fracas in Paris. Each upheaval was the result of widespread discontent, careful preparation, and an irresistible demand for change. And both had a fundamental influence on the structure of the state. The question was whether France would have a parliamentary monarchy like England, in which the cabinet acted as a group in response to the will of Parliament, or whether the ministers would work individually under a king who participated actively in the government. Both revolutions were triumphs for the parliamentary system, but the developments of the epoch gave the system its peculiar French characteristics. The final chapter of this remarkable book is a masterpiece of historical interpretation. The author points out clearly that the open participation of Louis Philippe in government activities meant that the opposition attacked royalty itself. With keen insight he concludes: "In a state it is the minorities that strive, that act, that carry on, that think. The masses follow, sometimes on the right, sometimes on the left."

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke¹

GROEN VAN PRINSTERER: SCHRIFTELIJKE NALATENSCHAP. Volume IV: BRIEFWISSELING, Volume III, 1848-1866. Edited by *H. J. Smit*. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 90.] (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1949, pp. xxvii, 1004.) This publication will be welcomed by all those who are interested in the political history of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. The political activity of Groen van Prinsterer, a prominent Dutch spokesman of the Romantic reaction against the ideas of the French Revolution, resulted in the founding of the present Protestant political parties; Groen was moreover a distinguished historian and is known outside Holland especially as the editor of the *Archives* of the Princes of Orange. The book under review, the third volume thus far published in a series in which eventually all the main manuscripts left by Groen will appear, contains Groen's correspondence from 1848 until 1866. The edition, which is carefully annotated and excellently introduced by Dr. Smit, should be consulted in combination with Groen's political writings and the correspondence which Groen published himself. In the period covered by this volume the liberal constitution of 1848 had its first trial. Groen, as violently opposed to the revolutionary spirit of 1848 as to that of 1789, fought the triumphant liberalism especially on the school question, which was in Holland, as in other European countries, one of the main political issues of this period. Groen's plan for establishing state-supported Protestant schools was turned down by the Dutch parliament, which was controlled by the liberal middle classes favoring the separation of church and state. Groen van Prinsterer's ideas, however, found a favorable reception among part of the lower classes which still clung to orthodox Calvinism. This led Groen, although of aristocratic leanings and opposed to the theory of popular sovereignty, to urge the political organization of the orthodox rank and file, later successfully undertaken by Groen's successor, Abraham Kuyper. As a result, state-subsidized religious schools eventually became an accepted part of the Dutch educational system. The publication of the present volume has the merit of reminding us of the incompleteness of the victory of nine-

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

teenth century liberalism, and of the strength of antidemocratic undercurrents; it also illustrates that these antidemocratic trends had to compromise with the spirit of the age in order to realize part of their ideals.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

THE LAPPS. By Björn Collinder. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for American Scandinavian Foundation, 1949, pp. 252, \$3.75.) Not a few Americans will be surprised to learn that Mauser guns, Zeiss field-glasses, and outboard motors are becoming the standard equipment of the men of Lapland. Singer machines, too, are no longer a novelty to the womenfolk, who sew as they listen to Lappish newscasts from a Tromsø radio station. It is appropriate that before the colorful Lappish way of life yields completely to the gadgets and patterns of the West it be recorded in rich detail. *The Lapps* is such a record. There are interesting chapters on the geographical, historical, and ethnographical backgrounds of this Arctic people; their food, dress, and dwellings; their religious beliefs and practices; their literature, art, and music. The ubiquitous reindeer, of course, is given a position of prominence in the book commensurate with its importance in the Lappish economy. And let it be said to the eternal credit of Professor Björn Collinder of Uppsala that he has not permitted his special interest in philology to dominate the study; there is, indeed, only a single and well-executed chapter on the Lappish language. The most distinctive feature of the volume is its wealth of detail, which perhaps only infrequently will tax the patience of a lay reader. Much of the material has come from Professor Collinder's own researches among the Lapps, which have earned him a place with Ernest Manker, Harald Grundström, and Toivo Itkonen as the leading "lappologues" of our day. Other data have been drawn from more than a hundred authorities, whose names, ranging from Abercromby to Zolotarev, appear in the bibliography of consulted works. Professor Collinder has made discriminating use of the writings of Jacob Fellman, J. A. Friis, P. Laestadius, J. K. Qvigstad, and N. V. Stockfleth, sources which have not always been fully exploited by writers in the past. The list of works in English is quite complete, although the travel accounts of O. M. Chapman, Paul Du Chaillu, Edward Rae, H. Sutherland, and Bayard Taylor might have been included. Professor Collinder has made a distinguished addition to the English-language literature about the Lapps. It is good to learn that this study will be followed shortly by other publications in English, among them an abridgment of Itkonen's *Suomen Lappalaiset* and Anta Pirak's autobiography, *The Life of a Nomad Lapp*.

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TIL MARCUS THRANES IDÉHISTORIE. By Sigmund Skard. [Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. II, Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1949, No. 3.] (Oslo, Jacob Dybwad, 1949, pp. 40.) It so happens that the Norwegian labor leader Thrane was a heavy borrower of books from the university library, notably in 1839-40 and again in 1853-54 (on the latter occasion in prison). A perusal of the titles checked out to him shows that he read avidly in history, economics, and religious social history, but the titles have greater interest as a portrayal of the literary resources available to a Norwegian labor radical in the middle years of the last century. O. J. F.

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles except where otherwise indicated.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ZOLLVEREIN: A STUDY OF THE IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS LEADING TO GERMAN ECONOMIC UNIFICATION BETWEEN 1815 AND 1833. By *Arnold H. Price*. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XVII.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949, pp. xi, 298, \$3.50.) In one of the most eloquent passages of his *German History*, Treitschke has described how, at the stroke of midnight that ushered in the new year of 1834, the long lines of wagons that had been waiting at the customs barriers in central Germany, moved forward as the bars were raised for the last time. As they did so "a new link was forged in the chain . . . which was leading . . . the Hohenzollerns to the imperial crown" while "the eagle eye of the great king looked through the clouds and in the far distance there rumbled the thunder of the cannon of Königgrätz." Since Treitschke wrote, the story of the origins of the Zollverein, of the aims and hopes of the Prussian tariff reformers and negotiators, has been brought back to more prosaic, earthbound levels. It took some years after 1834 for even a patriotic poet to sense that "leather, salmon, eels and matches" with the other products of home consumption were doing more to unite the German nation than was the Federal Act of 1815. Dr. Price has used a fine collection of pamphlets in the library of the University of Michigan as well as the generally known printed sources for the history of the origins of the Zollverein. He is quite correct, in my opinion, not to begin his story in the conventional way with the Prussian tariff reform of 1818. The Prussians were concerned with the problem of incorporating enclaves into their customs lines. It was in the middle states especially that the ideas and principles of customs union were discussed and clarified. The discussions were often impractical, the negotiations sometimes petty and usually tedious. Yet in time agreements were reached; the regional units formed and then joined together. The appearance and development of the ideas of economic union in Germany, as shown in pamphlets, newspapers, and speeches and the working out of the detailed treaties, have been distilled from a formidable mass of sources and clearly and intelligently organized in this useful monograph.

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ITALY

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

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THE COUNTRY OF THE BLIND: THE SOVIET SYSTEM OF MIND CONTROL.
By George S. Counts and Nucia Lodge. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1949, pp. xx, 378,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

\$4.00.) Professor Counts and Mrs. Lodge have long been proponents and skilled practitioners of the technique of letting the Soviets speak for themselves. They did it in 1931 with their famous translation of Ilin's *New Russia's Primer*, and in 1947 with their very important little book, "*I Want to be Like Stalin*." The great strength of this technique is that the argument rests squarely on the evidence and not on what Counts-Lodge say about the evidence. This is also its greatest value to the reader. In *The Country of the Blind*, for example, the current party line on music is presented not by a paraphrase or by a commentary but in the *ipsissima verba* of the Central Committee's resolution. And what this order means to Soviet composers is explained not by foreign critics but by Prokofiev, Khachaturian, and their colleagues. The authors do offer their own interpretations and comments in three chapters and in the explanatory notes which link the quoted materials. But the "Soviet system of mind control" stands forth clearly in the Soviets' own words. If the collaborators had done nothing more than to make all these materials available in English and in one place, they would have rendered a major service. They have, however, done more by providing explanations and by setting the whole matter in perspective. Their first chapter is an excellent brief sketch of the development and current role of the party; their second, a sound and well-documented analysis of the main basis of Soviet foreign policy. Literature, music, drama, science, and education are each treated in a separate chapter. Two chapters are devoted to "Intellectuals as Soldiers." The final chapter seeks to place the Soviet movement "in the perspectives of history." It also includes the authors' twelve-point program by which they think Americans can and must meet the Soviet challenge.

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Near Eastern History

THE HOUSE OF NASI: THE DUKE OF NAXOS. By *Cecil Roth*. (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1948, pp. xvi, 250, \$3.00.) This is the biography of Joseph Nasi, originally a Portuguese Marrano, a nephew and later the son-in-law of Dona Gracia Nasi, a remarkable Jewish woman of the sixteenth century of whom Mr. Roth published a biography in 1947. The Nasis, who established themselves in the Low Countries and whose business connections extended throughout Europe, settled finally in Constantinople as a result of the discovery of their true identity. There they gave up their outer profession of Christianity and openly embraced Judaism. The interest of the historian in Joseph Nasi lies in the influence which he exerted at the Turkish court of the sixteenth century. That influence was already great during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent; it became still greater during that of Selim. It was Selim who made Nasi duke of Naxos. Joseph Nasi played a considerable role in the molding of events in the sixteenth century. He more than anybody else was responsible for the outbreak of the war of Cyprus in 1570 during which the Turks suffered their first great defeat at the hands of Christian forces (the battle of Lepanto), but which resulted in the Turkish acquisition of Cyprus. Mr. Roth has written an interesting biography which is obviously meant for the general reader. His statements, however, are not always accurate. Writing of the atrocities which the Turks committed on Cyprus he states that "the Jews were alleged to have been instrumental in this" and then adds, "If the charge is true, the reason obviously is that in the Byzantine world they were compelled among their other humiliations to act as public executioners." The last statement is without foundation. Neither Bees nor Starr have found any evidence in its support. Mr. Roth seems to ignore also the latest results of scholarship on the subject of the tenth century correspondence between Hasdai ibn Shaprut of Cordova and the king of the Khazars. He seems to accept them as authentic, but the recent researches of H. Grégoire and others indicate that they were not. It must also be pointed out that the author gives to some of the activities of the duke of Naxos a too modern interpretation.

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Far Eastern History

*E. H. Pritchard*¹

MODERN CHINA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO CHINESE WORKS, 1898-1937. By *John King Fairbank* and *Kwang-ching Liu*. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, Volume I.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xviii, 608, \$7.50.) In a field so undeveloped as the study of modern Chinese history the appearance of an adequate guide to native sources is an event of some importance. Students of the period since the reform movement of 1898 will find this handbook a very welcome tool. It was originally issued in 1947-48 in mimeographed form to facilitate research in the regional studies program on China established at Harvard after the war. The many Chinese works described, often with illuminating biographical details, are those to be found in the Harvard Chinese library. Though the compilers admittedly could not read them all, they examined or used them sufficiently to make very intelligent comments upon them: "We believe," they assert, "that book-lists without

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

critical annotations are a public nuisance"—a refreshing statement which compilers of bibliographies might all take to heart. No attempt is made—as one might gather from the title—to record works published on every aspect of China during the past half century. Works of scholarship dealing with earlier periods but written in modern times are intentionally excluded; as are those on the fine arts, linguistics, science, and religion. But in "the multifarious pressing problems" of the social sciences, with which the authors are mainly concerned, the treatment is comprehensive. The books on law, government, and diplomacy are especially well analyzed. Unfortunately many of the periodicals and learned journals named are now to be had only in a few great libraries. The rather frequent use of the word "bureaucrat" in a pejorative sense, and the ungainly translation of some titles are but minor blemishes. When one considers what might be done with this rich material one must agree with the compilers that it presents "a direct challenge to modern American scholarship on China."

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Library of Congress*

MANCHURIA SINCE 1931. By *F. C. Jones*, Lecturer in History, University of Bristol. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. vii, 256, \$6.00.) Dr. F. C. Jones has written the best all-round study of "Manchukuo" that has yet appeared. His clear and objective appraisal is unusually comprehensive within a brief space, although the small type and narrow margins make this a larger book than the paging indicates. He devotes full chapters to trade, industry, agriculture, and other basic economic developments and covers political subjects with equal thoroughness, while adding a final chapter on postwar events to 1947. The rich material here spread out tempts a reviewer to comparison and question. To what extent, for example, did the leading role admittedly played by the Kwantung army in Manchuria lead to special results? In this study one is constantly reminded, without explicit reference by the author, of developments in other and longer held Japanese colonies. Thus, "the positive achievements of the Japanese in the spheres of finance and currency, industrial development, town-building, sanitation, and communications" noted by the author for Manchuria might well apply for Korea or Formosa. So also could the accompanying stricture that "most of the positions and the bulk of the profits went to Japan's own nationals." Add the statements that both the Chinese peasantry and urban populace were squeezed and the parallel becomes complete, although in the wider reaches of Manchuria a Chinese peasantry could withhold crops more effectively. An army-ruled "Manchukuo" and a civilian-ruled colony not only worked out to similar results but represented a distinction that grew more tenuous as time passed. Military (or naval) administrators were prominent in the early stages of Korean and Formosan development under Japanese rule, while Manchurian civilian administrators (notably Hoshino Naoki) won their spurs in Hsinking and then passed on to a bigger sphere of action in Tokyo. Finally, the Manchurian "base" was not used for its intended military purpose and much of the Kwantung army eventually went south to fight on Pacific islands or in China below the Wall. All this is not to say the "Manchukuo" was an exact replica of the other colonies, but it does suggest the value of a comparative study that might considerably reduce emphasis on the uniqueness of the former's development.

T. A. BISSE, *University of California*

INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI: BEING THE THIRD PART OF THE TRAVELS OF M. DE THEVENOT INTO THE LEVANT AND THE THIRD PART OF A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD BY DR. JOHN FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI. Edited by *Surendranath Sen*, Director of Archives, Government of India. [Indian Records Series.] (New Delhi, National Archives of India,

1949, pp. lxiv, 434, rs. 20.) Because war conditions made it difficult to prepare editions of archival records, the "Indian Records Series" has been revived with a modern edition of those parts of the travels of Jean de Thevenot and Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri which deal with the Mogul Empire. Thevenot crossed central India from Surat to Masulipatam and back by slightly varied routes in 1666-67. Careri in 1695 traveled along the west coast from Surat to Goa and thence inland for an audience with Aurangzeb whose army was then encamped at Galgala on the Kistna. Therefore the two accounts together cover a rather wide segment of the Mogul dominions. As each traveler was interested in somewhat different things, there is not much duplication. To this reviewer, Careri seems the more acute observer. For example his account of the Buddhist caves at Kanheri is far superior to Thevenot's brief account of the temples at Ellora. These authors have hitherto been available only in seventeenth and early eighteenth century editions. Dr. Sen's introduction is far more than a commentary on the two travel narratives. It is a valuable essay on European travelers' accounts of India in the seventeenth century. With the aid of Principal J. D. Ward of Aitchison College, Dr. Sen was able to compare the early English editions with the French and Italian originals. It is to be regretted that the many new readings which correct errors in the English translations are placed among the notes at the end of the volume instead of being indicated in the body of the text. The work would have gained greatly in usefulness had it been possible to print the relevant notes at the foot of each page and to separate the textual corrections from the explanatory notes. The latter are carefully done and bring to bear on both narratives for the first time the criticism of an Indian scholar fully familiar with the terrain and institutions described. All students of Indian history will look forward to the subsequent publication in this series of manuscript records from the National Archives of the new Republic of India.

HOLDEN FURBER, *University of Pennsylvania*

MALAYA AND ITS HISTORY. By Sir *Richard Winstedt*, Formerly of the Malayan Civil Service in Malay, University of London. [Hutchinson's University Library, British Empire History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 158. \$1.60.) Sir Richard Winstedt is one of the very few writers who can be deservedly described as Malayan authorities. Unlike his previous works the present book is not intended for experts. Its purpose is to provide a popular yet scholarly introduction for the general reader. It was a remarkable feat of condensation to achieve this aim in so brief a compass and yet at the same time omit nothing that is essential to a broad understanding of the subject. The book covers two thousand years of Malayan history, presenting briefly yet clearly the salient characteristics of each epoch, both political and economic. There is a marked absence of national bias, and the author does not mince his words when describing phases of British policy with which he disagrees. The book should prove decidedly useful as collateral reading in courses on eastern or southern Asia. The author is distinctly critical of the methods used by the British government to carry out its postwar policy of establishing democracy. He describes them as high handed and precipitate, and points out that since there was no demand for change it would have been perfectly possible to consult the three Malayan races beforehand. Instead of this the Labour government tried to impose a plan that had been incubated in extreme secrecy in London. The result was that it widened the rift between the Malays and Chinese which it had hoped to close. The author regards this lack of harmony as the most serious obstacle to the development of self-government. It is regrettable that lack of space prevented him from developing his views more fully on a question where his own personal experience would have given them special weight.

LENNOX A. MILLS, *University of Minnesota*

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

GUIDE TO AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Part I, 1607-1815. By Marion Dargan. Foreword by Dumas Malone. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1949, pp. viii, 140, \$2.50.) This little book is the outgrowth of its author's experience in teaching courses in American biography over a period of about twelve years. Its apparent purpose is to present a cogent plea for the teaching of such courses and a plan of operation for the use of those who respond to the call. In the opinion of the reviewer it does not fully accomplish either of its aims. The plea for courses in biography is weakened by the inclusion of some dubious assertions about the merits of biography as a vehicle of instruction. The plan of operation suffers from a lack of precise statement as to its scope and character. In fact the plan is set forth more by the general character of the book than by direct statement. Despite these and other shortcomings the book may well serve a useful purpose. It supplies considerable bibliographical data in regard to the more important books dealing with about 180 persons who lived and had influence in the period 1607-1815. The selection of persons to be included has been done judiciously. Typical as well as important persons have been chosen. For each of them a word or two of characterization has been supplied. Many of these characterizations are put between quotation marks. But the name of the authority is not given. Those supplied by the author are sometimes rather fanciful and occasionally a bit bizarre. Many of the items include a citation of a worth-while review of the book, accompanied by an attempt at giving the essence of the review by brief quotation or by

¹ Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

a thumbnail condensation. Uniform success in such an effort is scarcely attainable. Many of them, however, have been successfully done. Unfortunately the names of the reviewers are not included in the citations. An appendix of twelve pages is entitled "Check List of Books Cited Frequently." The list includes about seventy-five books of general biographical interest, each item accompanied by the citation of a review of it. This is one of the most useful features of the book. A short foreword by Dumas Malone suggests with great acumen some important points about the relation of biography to history.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON, *Dartmouth College*

THE AMERICAN ICE HARVESTS: A HISTORICAL STUDY IN TECHNOLOGY, 1800-1918. By *Richard O. Cummings*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949, pp. x, 184, \$3.00.) A decade ago Mr. Cummings treated an unusual phase of American history in his *The American and His Food*. The volume here under review clearly grew out of that earlier interest and is in a sense an extended footnote to it. The story is essentially a nineteenth century one. It begins with the construction of refrigerators and the inauguration of ice harvests and the ice trade along the Atlantic seaboard. For the innovations which both Frederic Tudor and Nathaniel J. Wyeth introduced into the industry, this volume adds new details and perspective, especially through the use of the Tudor manuscripts in the library of the Harvard Business School. It then moves on to describe the wider use of ice in the preparation and distribution of food products, the development of new sources of fresh-water ice in Maine, the Middle West, and the Pacific states, and concludes with an account of the invention and business organization which made possible an artificial ice industry. A postscript on artificial refrigeration concludes the narrative. In these days of multivolumed scholarship it is refreshing to come across a small book properly proportioned to the importance of its subject. In my estimation this useful volume would have gained additional stature by a more thorough reworking and a sharper interpretation of the material. There are spots where it gives the impression of a collection of notes.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, *Bowdoin College*

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION. By *Edwin Emery*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1950, pp. vii, 263, \$3.50.) In the supposed good old days of American journalism you heard little of newspaper publishers. The editors, who were often publishers on the side, ran the show. America's industrial expansion after the Civil War changed all that. Now the publisher is usually the boss, and is often actually the editor even though someone else may have the title. Symptomatic of the coming change was the founding, in 1887, of the American Newspaper Publishers Association by forty-six individuals. Today the A.N.P.A. includes more than eight hundred newspapers that boast more than ninety per cent of the daily circulation in this country and Canada. Mr. Emery, former newspaperman who is now assistant professor of journalism at the University of Minnesota, has in this book traced the rise of the A.N.P.A. He had access to official sources, which makes his account accurate and complete. But it is no more an official and therefore over-kind biography than it is a piece of debunking. Daily newspaper work is unique in that it is in part a private business like any other, and in part a social force that makes possible self-government by free men. Inevitably this book is concerned primarily with the business side of journalism. For the A.N.P.A. is a trade group. This means that a history of the A.N.P.A. must omit much of the history of journalism in the last three quarters of a century. By the same token the business side of journalism is often neglected. But now there is available in this book the record of the sometimes statesmanlike, more often shortsighted, reactions of the dominant group of publishers as

they struggled successively with labor, advertising, newsprint supplies and tariffs, postal rates, radio, the social forces spearheaded by the New Deal, and finally today's public mistrust of the press. Perhaps, says Mr. Emery, "the most imaginative and praise-worthy of all the Association's actions was the establishment of a policy of voluntary arbitration in cooperation with the printing trade unions." This bold step was taken half a century ago. One could wish that the publishers had always been as far-sighted in dealing with the host of other issues in which their self-interest involved them. It is of course Mr. Emery's task not to editorialize so much as to report. Even so all the overtones are here. This is a work of scholarship, competently and objectively done. Anyone interested in the background of contemporary American journalism had better read it.

HERBERT BRUCKER, *Hartford, Connecticut*

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL NOVEL. By *Ernest E. Leisy*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, pp. x, 280, \$3.75.) The present reviewer was puzzled, on reading the preface of this work, to learn that in his *American Fiction* he had "described a few historical novels, but made no mention of the species as a whole." Since chapter 18, "The Romance of History and Politics," discusses about fifty of the important American historical novels, he may be pardoned for wondering whether his friend, Dr. Leisy, ever reached chapter 18! Dr. Leisy has devoted many years to this compilation and it is a useful storehouse of plots and characters, well indexed and ready for reference. It is not selective and was not intended to be. The general plan is satisfactory; the novels are treated under the historical epochs, such as "Colonial America," or "The American Revolution," and within these divisions, the fiction is treated under geographical or topical headings. It is true that it is difficult to maintain a clear principle of classification by this method, and some critics might object that the subcategories are sometimes not mutually exclusive. But anyone who has been confronted with the task of classification in the field of fiction knows that exact separation of novels into groups is often difficult. Novels have a way of wriggling out of one genre into another without warning, and Dr. Leisy has wisely not attempted to be too rigid. Indeed the very definition of the historical novel is still open to dispute, as the preface indicates. The most difficult decision which the author of such a book has to face is the relative amount of space to be devoted to criticism and to the retelling of plot. Here Dr. Leisy may be criticized with some justification, for the narration of plot outweighs that of critical appraisal. Plots should be introduced only as illustrations of a critical judgment, not for themselves; that way boredom lies. The reader who is familiar with the general subject does not need them and the reader who seeks guidance desires analytic rather than merely descriptive criticism. Every literary historian naturally feels the urge to convey to his reader at least a part of the results of his labor, but the temptation must be resisted, and yet only he who is without sin in this regard should cast a stone at Dr. Leisy's faithful record of his research!

ARTHUR H. QUINN, *Bala-Cynwyd, Pennsylvania*

THE LINCOLN ENCYCLOPEDIA: THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN WORDS OF A. LINCOLN ARRANGED FOR READY REFERENCE. Compiled and Edited by *Archer H. Shaw*. With an Introduction by David C. Mearns, Assistant Librarian, Library of Congress. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. xii, 395, \$6.50.) It was inevitable that sooner or later someone would prepare an encyclopedia of the writings and sayings of our most quotable public figure. Because a good compilation of Lincoln's words arranged in cyclopedic form would be useful to many people, it is too bad that somebody did not do the job years ago. Because nobody did, it is just as regrettable that the compiler of the one that has now appeared could not have waited to make

up his book until after the publication of the Abraham Lincoln Association's forthcoming edition of the writings of Lincoln, which will provide reliable texts of all Lincoln's writings. It is worse than regrettable that Mr. Shaw, editorial writer for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, uncritically includes in his book several forgeries and spurious quotations originally printed in the works of Tracy and Hertz. Lincoln experts have exposed these items so thoroughly that it is incredible Mr. Shaw does not know their false nature. He also quotes copiously from the "Lost Speech at Bloomington," in the Whitney version, which Lincoln scholars refuse to accept as a genuine document. In his own words, Mr. Shaw's purpose in preparing the *Encyclopedia* was to make available in "ready reference" a book "suitable to the convenience of a writer or lecturer who may himself lack the time to dig deeply into a Lincoln text for some desired quotation or idea." He presents about 5,000 brief quotations, most of them from Lincoln's writings, some from Lincoln's spoken words as recorded by contemporaries. The source of each quotation is given. It is no serious matter, but Mr. Shaw has not always gone to the original sources for his citations. Thus, he quotes a remark by Lincoln to General Sherman and recorded by Sherman in his *Memoirs*, and cites Leech, *Reveille in Washington*; a statement by Lincoln to General Meigs is cited from Sandburg's *War Years*, although it originally appeared in a document by Meigs published in the *American Historical Review* (XXVI, 1921). The best way to explain Mr. Shaw's system or arrangement is to list his entries under a topic like Reconstruction. They are, Reconstruction, Arkansas, ten quotations; Reconstruction, cabinet approved plan; Reconstruction, cliques to be avoided; Reconstruction, Florida; Reconstruction, "fraught with difficulty"; Reconstruction, freedmen in, four quotations; etc., through Reconstruction, why a proclamation? This *Encyclopedia* will be helpful to Mr. Shaw's writers and lecturers and of some aid to scholars. It can be used until a better one comes along.

T. HARRY WILLIAMS, *Louisiana State University*

BANK NOTE REPORTERS AND COUNTERFEIT DETECTORS, 1826-1866, WITH A DISCOURSE ON WILDCAT BANKS AND WILDCAT BANK NOTES. By William H. Dillistin. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, Number 114.] (New York, American Numismatic Society, 1949, pp. vi, 175, plates, \$3.50.) This is a welcome addition to the scanty literature on a neglected subject. Even in detailed histories of the United States, counterfeiting is seldom mentioned, except in connection with the Continental currency during the Revolution, when the rapid depreciation of that medium of exchange was accelerated by wholesale counterfeiting of it by the enemy. One needs only to glance at the historical chapters and the bibliography of L. D. Smith's *Counterfeiting: Crime against the People* (1944—not reviewed in this journal) to realize how little attention has been paid thus far to the role of the counterfeiter in our economic and social history. For the colonial period we need more studies like Gillingham's *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (1933), brief though it is. Scott's article in the January, 1950, issue of the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* on "New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters Operating from New York City" shows how fruitful an intensive examination of local sources can be. Serious as it was in colonial times, the counterfeiting of our currency really got out of hand in the era of state banking which followed, and by the eve of the Civil War attained the proportions of a national disgrace. On this important period, however, except for some brief but sharp comments in Sumner's *History of Banking in the United States* (1896), we have had virtually nothing from historians, until the appearance of Mr. Dillistin's monograph, which, though primarily a study of "bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors," contains more information on counterfeiting in general during the state bank era than is to be found between two covers any-

where else. These publications, issued monthly or oftener, usually in pamphlet but occasionally in newspaper form, reported the rates of discount at which uncurrent bank notes could be bought in the city of publication, and at the same time listed and described counterfeit, spurious, and altered bank notes as they came to light. With hundreds of banks in existence, and thousands of kinds of faked notes in circulation, the "reporter" was a necessity to everyone who dealt in paper money, and his chief protection against the good notes of bad banks as well as the bad notes of good banks. The author lists some fifty of these reporters, most of them emanating from New York, but others from Philadelphia, Boston, and western cities. He relates their publishing history in considerable detail and locates the files (in many cases consisting only of scattered issues) of those fugitive publications which still survive. They are source material of primary importance for the history of banking as well as of counterfeiting in the United States. The author's chapters on counterfeiting and on wild-cat banking are intended not to exhaust these subjects but merely to explain the need for the publications he describes. They are, nevertheless, highly interesting and informative to the economic as well as the social historian. Mr. Dillistin's business is banking, and he writes with an intimate knowledge and thorough understanding of his complicated subject. His book is illustrated with pictures of bank notes, good and bad, from his own collection.

H. CLAY REED, *University of Delaware*

MORGENTHAU, THE NEW DEAL AND SILVER: A STORY OF PRESSURE POLITICS. By *Allan Seymour Everest*. (New York, King's Crown Press, 1950, pp. viii, 209, \$3.50.) One of the puzzling problems in American history over many years has been that of deciding what to do with dissertations. Abandonment of the printing requisite now spares the candidate's purse and the library shelves. However, much valuable material is buried in the dissertation manuscripts which lie forgotten in college archives. In this case, the informal offset process, fortunately, makes available materials which it would have been a misfortune to bury. We find herein an interesting, intelligent, and useful description of the activities and achievements of the silver lobby at Washington between 1933 and 1946. It is based chiefly upon the famous and unique Morgenthau "Diaries," amplified by government documentation plus some of the books and periodical literature bearing upon silver. Manuscript sources outside the "Diaries" were not consulted and probably this decision was taken advisedly, inasmuch as it is doubtful whether any of these sources now available could have compared with the 864 volumes of the "Diaries" in pertinent material, and miscellaneous manuscript collections involve an unconscionable expenditure of time which could scarcely be superimposed by a Ph.D. student upon his study of the "Diaries" and current literature amplifying them. The story is best organized for the developments between March, 1933, and December, 1934; a following chapter covers December, 1935, to early 1941. The effects of American silver policy upon the six other countries chiefly concerned are developed in three more chapters; the wartime career of silver and the status of silver today complete the presentation. It is of course well-nigh impossible to document minutely so broad a field covered in so brief a space; but this reviewer found some statements without documentation which seemed to need it more than other statements which were documented. Also this reviewer is inclined to question a few of the factual statements which are peculiarly difficult to authenticate. But on the whole this study of a broad field has been pursued with unusual ability and realism. It contributes considerably to our knowledge of the fine art daily demonstrated by lobbyists for special pressure groups at Washington, an art developed to the point where it endangers democracy.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, *Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

THE EVOLUTION OF OUR LATIN-AMERICAN POLICY: A DOCUMENTARY RECORD. Compiled and Edited by *James W. Gantenbein*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. xxvii, 979, \$12.50.) This collection of about three hundred fundamental documents, aims to give the reader a picture of the Latin-American policy of the United States from the "Farewell Address" of George Washington in 1796 to the Bogotá conference of 1948. The material is assembled under six headings: "General Principles"; "The Monroe Doctrine"; "Independence of Cuba"; "The Panama Canal Concession"; "Certain Controversies with Mexico"; "Interventions in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic"; and four appendixes: "Certain Agreements, Resolutions, and Conventions of Various Inter-American Conferences"; "Treaty Signed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, and Uruguay (1933)"; "Certain United States Agreements regarding the Inter-Oceanic Canals"; "Certain Treaties and Agreements with Haiti and the Dominican Republic." It would be too much to hope that all the important documents concerned with our relations with the Latin-American countries should be listed here; and this has not been the compiler's aim. Dr. Gantenbein has made his selections for reasons of his own, one of which certainly is that these documents were readily available for his use. Resultant gaps cannot be easily filled—yet many of the omitted documents may be the ones most desired by the student. In compiling this book no attempt has been made to give continuity to the material by the use of editorial comments or historical "fill-ins" between documents. Such omissions probably may be excused on the grounds of limitation of space or excessive publishing costs. There are, moreover, no editorial footnotes, and the index unfortunately is inadequately cross-referenced. Yet these observations need not be considered as fundamental criticisms. As for the choice of documents, probably no two compilers would make the same identical selections or even assemble the items in the same fashion. Rather than find fault with any shortcomings, teachers and students should accept this latest tool for the study of inter-American relations with gratitude, and supplement it, if necessary, with other compilations. Dr. Gantenbein should be congratulated for giving us this timely volume.

A. CURTIS WILGUS, *George Washington University*

SYKEWAR: PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST GERMANY, D-DAY TO VE-DAY. By *Daniel Lerner*. With a Foreword by Brigadier General *Robert A. McClure*, and a Supplementary Essay by *Richard H. S. Crossman*, M.P. [Library of Policy Sciences.] (New York, George W. Stewart, 1949, pp. xviii, 463, \$6.50.) This is a technical study of a limited campaign. The personnel, problems, and policies of American propagandists in Europe after D Day are here presented in detail. Their work is shown to have been designed exclusively to affect the enemy and, quite obviously, was never intended to influence non-Germans. The book will serve as a reference work but will not interest the average reader. An item of some importance is the revelation that the propagandists were warned that "there must be no suggestion that the Atlantic Charter applies to Germany by right." From this one gains the impression that the government was afraid it would again be caught in a contract as a result of its propaganda. Perhaps officials feared that Germans one day would argue about point two—the self-determination clause. One is impressed again by the vast difference between the activities of World War II propagandists and those of World War I. Here is none of the high-flying independence of Sir Gilbert Parker and George Creel. Instead one finds a subservience to directives and especially to that over-all directive, "unconditional surrender." Here is none of the deep conviction and high idealism of that earlier war. Instead there is expediency, cleverness, and technicality. In these pages one will not read of propaganda lifted to the heights of artistry by a

Woodrow Wilson. Instead "sykewar" is dependent upon the verbiage and formulae of the public relations expert. H. C. PETERSON, *University of Oklahoma*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

BRING OUT YOUR DEAD: THE GREAT PLAGUE OF YELLOW FEVER IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1793. By J. H. Powell. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949, pp. xi, 304, \$3.75.) Large archival collections have been assembled, and an extensive literature has developed on the yellow fever scourge which terrorized our seaboard cities at recurrent intervals in the hot summer months for more than a century, till the army surgeon, Walter Reed, tracked down the tiny female mosquito, *Aedes Aegypti*, soon after the war with Spain, and so prepared the way for prevention and cure. A distinctive feature of Dr. Powell's book, apart from its literary merit, lies in the fact that it is definitely localized as to time and place; a brilliant case study of the visitation of the scourge in Penn's city, then the nation's capital and foremost among its cities in commerce, science, and political life. It is particularly satisfying because it presents a picture of the Philadelphia plague in its totality, from its stealthy beginnings in August to epidemic proportions, climax and decline in October, scores dying loathsomely from the mysterious disease, as panic and flight from the "fear of mass death" led to the complete paralysis of the government and the customary life of the city. Only by the courage and heroism of Mayor Clarkson and his loyal co-workers was a semblance of law and order maintained, and feeble plans improvised for the care of the sick, the dying, and the dead. Altogether a gruesome but heroic story, here cast by the skillful hand of the author into a swiftly moving tragedy. The style is clear and forceful, with a wealth of historic allusions that add richness and flavor. Indeed, the evidence of first-hand acquaintance with both the primary and secondary literature deftly woven into the narrative, imparts a sense of authoritativeness rarely found in a historical treatment so completely devoid of footnotes. On the other hand, the concessions for literary effect in line with a current trend among some historians to "strike a path away from academic concepts," is obvious. *Bring Out Your Dead* is dramatic, but without the secondary title, which academic historians might prefer, it would be inadequate. This is the more true since

there is no substantial evidence that the cry was used either in Philadelphia in 1793, or during the great plague of 1664-65 in London to which tradition sometimes attributes it. Nevertheless, *Bring Out Your Dead* is a good title, compressing into four short words the outstanding aspect of the plague and, by implication, the broader psychological, social, and civic problems of the terrible visitation. Readers unfamiliar with the long and embittered controversy over Benjamin Rush will be a little puzzled by the lack of accord between the laudatory appraisal of the great doctor who became "the popular hero of the plague," and the factual account of his attitude and actions at the time. While the doctor's mistaken diagnosis and his drastic mercury purge, and copious bleedings, based on a preconceived idea of effecting cures by "making weakness weaker," can be excused, the same forbearance cannot reasonably be exercised toward his persistent intolerance and bitter denunciation of all who differed from him. On the other hand, charitable treatment of the frailties and heroisms of the men under the terrible emotional stress of the scourge is hardly a fault, especially when it is combined with rare insight and understanding. Despite the macabre background there is interesting reading in the accounts of the courage and response to civic duty by Matthew Clarkson, the mayor, and the men who came to his assistance; of the zeal and energy of Stephen Girard and Jean Devèze, loyally assisted by Peter Helm in transforming Bush Hill from a shambles into a well-regulated hospital; of Richard Allen and his fellow freedmen, volunteers in the terrible job of collecting the dead; and the devotion to duty of doctors like Benjamin Duffield, Hugh Hodge, and others, especially Dr. Benjamin Rush.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

PETER COOPER, CITIZEN OF NEW YORK. By *Edward C. Mack*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1949, pp. xvi, 432, \$5.00.) In writing the biography of a man who once sought a patent on a plan for filling the Erie Canal with brine in order to increase its buoyancy and to transport salt, Professor Mack might have been tempted to capitalize on his subject's well-known eccentricities. But he has wisely abstained and given to Peter Cooper the affectionate, full-length treatment that this fine American deserves. Born only two years after the inauguration of George Washington, Cooper died ninety-two years later, during the administration of Chester A. Arthur. His activities touched the national history at many points. In 1830 he built the "Tom Thumb"—the tiny locomotive whose experimental runs between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills introduced the American railroad age. Without his money and the money he induced others to invest, Cyrus Field could not have laid the Atlantic cable. In 1876 when hard times fostered the growth of an agrarian-labor protest movement, Cooper was drafted at the age of eighty-five for the thankless role of third-party candidate for President. The old man's greenbackism was sincere. Although he had amassed a fortune of some two million dollars through the manufacture of glue and iron and shrewd investments in the infant railroad and telegraph businesses, Peter Cooper had no love for the national banking system or the post-Civil War alliance between government and big business. Professor Mack's well-written biography shows evidence of careful research. For some periods of his subject's life, the author was apparently handicapped by a paucity of sources. But this is not all loss, since it permits him to supplement his narrative with background material of unusual interest. The development of New York City is traced from the small town of Cooper's boyhood to the teeming metropolis of his old age. Nor is this material irrelevant. Cooper's lively interest in civic affairs involved him deeply in movements to provide the city with an adequate water supply, to improve its police and fire protection, and to reform its government. Handicapped throughout life by his own inadequate schooling, Cooper

was particularly interested in education. As a trustee of the Public School Society, he took an important part in the fight to prevent the extension of state aid to parochial schools. The greatest enthusiasm of his old age was the cause of worker education. Cooper Union, founded in 1859 and lovingly fostered by its patron until his death, is Peter Cooper's most enduring and most appropriate memorial.

NELSON MANFRED BLAKE, *Syracuse University*

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK: A HISTORY, 1847-1947. By S. Willis Rudy. (New York, City College Press, 1949, pp. x, 492, \$6.00.) It is seldom that any cultural institution has received such brilliant treatment as has the College of the City of New York in this volume by A. Willis Rudy. The result of most careful and exhaustive research, there is no aspect of college life—administration, curriculum, discipline, student affairs, faculty, personnel, alumni assistance—that is not adequately and sympathetically traced. Mr. Rudy's history is the story of the growth of the Free Academy, established by popular vote of the citizens of New York, from its small beginnings in a single building with a student body of 143 and a faculty of 9 professors, to the greatest free institution of higher education in the entire world with a splendid plant of 12 buildings on a beautiful site, a faculty of 700, a student body in its day, evening, and summer sessions of 38,000, and a budget of \$7,000,000. This great expansion was not achieved without bitter opposition from the conservative elements of the city who insisted upon no education for the masses beyond the high school, especially as with the passage of time a change had taken place in the racial, economic, and social status of the student body. Many fine men among the trustees, faculty, and alumni of the college contributed toward this remarkable growth and expansion, but the three outstanding figures in the history of the college are Townsend Harris, our first minister to Japan, who was responsible for having secured from the legislature of the state of New York the right to hold the plebescite in 1847; John H. Finley, the third president, idealist and prophet, who envisioned the college of the future and laid down the lines along which it was to be realized; and Edward M. Shepard, chairman of the board of trustees, one of New York City's most distinguished sons, a man of very great influence in city and state, who secured from the state legislature the necessary legislation and from the board of estimate the necessary funds to realize President Finley's dreams. In this day of rapid and uncertain change, Mr. Rudy's story of this triumph of democracy in providing free higher education for the children of the masses should be an inspiration to statesmen of all nations, old and just emerging.

STEPHEN DUGGAN, *Stamford, Connecticut*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

CALENDAR OF MARYLAND STATE PAPERS, No. 1, THE BLACK BOOKS. No. 2, THE BANK STOCK PAPERS. By *Morris L. Radoff*. No. 3, THE BROWN BOOKS. By *Roger Thomas*. [Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, Nos. 1, 5, 6.] (Annapolis, Hall of Records Commission, 1943, pp. viii, 297, \$1.00; 1947, pp. xxxvii, 67, \$2.00; 1948, pp. vii, 180, \$2.00.) Historians may well appreciate the calendaring of the "Rainbow Series" of manuscript volumes at the Maryland Hall of Records. The documents have research value even beyond their major import to the state, and the calendars are truly models of the type of research aids appropriate to materials of moderate quantity and great value. Countless subjects and many prominent individuals, primarily of the eighteenth century, are dealt with in the manuscripts, the handling of which through the years amounts to an archival adventure story. The Black Books are varied government papers mostly dated 1740-1770. The Brown Books contain correspondence chiefly of the Revolutionary War period. The Blue Books present the financial saga of Bank of England stock owned by the colony, of which it lost control during the Revolution but for which it was repaid in 1805 at a handsome profit.

Both historians and archivists profit from the exemplary calendaring done at the Hall of Records; let us hope that the remaining Red Book series can be given this treatment before long.

PHILIP C. BROOKS, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

SEAPORT IN VIRGINIA: GEORGE WASHINGTON'S ALEXANDRIA. By *Gay Montague Moore*. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1949, pp. x, 278, \$10.00.) Alexandria, Virginia's famed "seaport on the Potomack," was founded in 1749 and its bi-centennial was deemed of sufficient national interest to warrant the issuing of a commemorative airmail stamp. The event was inevitably marked by a rash of anniversary publications embracing works ranging from banality to others of compelling excellence. This is unquestionably the best of the lot. The authoress, who is of distinguished Old Dominion stock herself, resides in the historic Fairfax home on Prince Street, which her husband and she restored, and both have long been actively engaged in rekindling interest in the prosaic modern city's romantic past. Her exquisitely designed and beautifully printed volume is based upon extensive research in regional archives. While there are no strikingly original findings, she has uncovered a large amount of interesting material on community life and makes a substantial contribution to the social history of colonial days. The emphasis upon Washington is natural since Mount Vernon lies but a few miles to the south. Alexandria was always the planter-general-president's "home town," and he developed a deep affection for the bustling little city. It was here that he shopped, presided over the Masonic Lodge, met his friends, visited the apothecary, took command of his first troops and held his last military review. Surviving buildings such as Gadsby's Tavern, the Carlyle House, and the Ramsay home are today intimately associated with his memory. A 47-page prologue is followed by twenty-three chapters devoted to the Washington era and five given over to the nineteenth century. An unusual technique is employed—telling the story of the time by centering it around specific family seats and public buildings. This proves highly effective and lends great charm to a most exceptional and thoroughly enjoyable volume. Drawings by Worth Bailey and photographs by Walter Wilcox match the superb typography. The whole represents local history at its best.

LOWELL RAGATZ, *Ohio State University*

LEONIDAS LAFAYETTE POLK: AGRARIAN CRUSADER. By *Stuart Noblin*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, pp. ix, 325, \$5.00.) There can be little doubt that the man who attained leadership of the largest farmers' organization in American history deserves a serious biography. Leonidas LaFayette Polk of North Carolina was president of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union from December, 1889, until his death in June, 1892. His period of national prominence was therefore brief, but it came in the years when the Farmers' Alliance was strongest and when the agrarian revolt was in its most vigorous stage. Had Polk lived four weeks longer it is generally conceded that he would have been nominated the first Populist candidate for President of the United States. A Southern nominee with the wide following that Polk enjoyed in the West would have appreciably altered the history of the Populist revolt. Mr. Noblin makes an interesting, though not entirely convincing, case for the contention that Polk was North Carolina's "most significant citizen between 1865 and 1900." North Carolina had an unusual number of significant citizens in those years. The author's scholarly account of Polk's contribution to the educational, agricultural, and political history of his state, however, goes far toward rescuing the man's name from the obscurity and neglect to which it was condemned after the overthrow of Populism in North Carolina. The emphasis of the book is upon the local scene and it is there that the richest and most valuable findings are reported.

It is regrettable that the destruction of much of Polk's correspondence as president of the Alliance prevented the author from throwing more light upon the most significant aspect of his subject's life. The Farmers' Alliance was a secret, highly centralized organization that placed unusual powers in the hands of a few men. There was discord in the higher ranks that has never been fully explained. Of such materials as are available, however, Mr. Noblin has made good use. He has succeeded in constructing a valuable portrait of a neglected agrarian leader.

C. VANN WOODWARD, *Johns Hopkins University*

EAST FLORIDA, 1783-1785. A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated, by *Joseph Byrne Lockey*. Edited, with a Foreword by *John Walton Caughey*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949, pp. xxiv, 764, \$7.50.) Cataclysmic changes characterized the history of Florida in the centuries following its discovery by Ponce de León. Disillusioned conquistadors gave way to French settlers, Spaniards slaughtered the French, Englishmen replaced the Spaniards, and Spain gained ascendancy over Great Britain. With the exception of the British period, when a few hundred settlers remained in East Florida, there was no continuity of institutions, economy, or people from one era to another. Spanish, French, and English periods stand almost alone, interesting as colonial enterprises but not units in an unfolding, continuous story of development. The second Spanish period (1783-1821) differed from previous eras. As a consequence of American immigration, continuity rather than drastic change describes the transfer in 1821 of East Florida from Spain to the United States. On this basic thesis the late Professor Lockey planned a number of documentary volumes depicting the second Spanish period. Source material for the work was voluminous and accessible. Hundreds of thousands of documents in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress (drawn from Spanish, English, and Cuban archives), the East Florida Papers, the John B. Stetson Collection, and the Georgia Department of Archives and History offered a plethora of material. For his first volume Professor Lockey selected approximately 425 documents, including enclosures, which covered the critical transitional period from January 2, 1783, to December 30, 1785. The principal papers and covering letters were reproduced in their entirety and arranged in chronological order. Spanish and French documents were translated into English. Subjects included in the volume were diplomatic negotiations, correspondence between Governor Tonyn and his British superiors, correspondence between Governor Zéspedes and Spanish officials, exchanges between the governors, and interesting miscellaneous papers which picture the anarchy of transition. This valuable source book was edited and prepared for publication by Professor Caughey. Although the volume has sufficient unity to stand as an entity, Professor Lockey's idea of a documentary history of Florida during the second Spanish period should not be lost. The value of future volumes would be enhanced by a more inclusive and detailed index.

REMBERT W. PATRICK, *University of Florida*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE JOURNEY OF FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA. By *Cleve Hallenbeck*. (Dallas, University Press in Dallas, 1949, pp. 115, \$10.00.) This work, with fine illustrations by José Cisneros, is a fitting sequel to the earlier study by the same writer entitled *The Journey and Route of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* (Glendale, 1940), and constitutes a proper memorial to the author, who, after a long career as an expert in meteorology and climatology, with emphasis on the geography of the Southwest, applied that knowledge to the determination of the routes of early Spanish explorers in the area. This volume was in completed manuscript at the time of his death on February 20, 1949. It consists of a brief account of the origin of the legend of the Seven Cities of Cibola according to which, on an island in the Atlantic, seven bishops from Spain, fleeing from the Moors, were reputed to have established seven cities in the twelfth century. The arrival of Cabeza de Vaca with his three companions in Mexico, in 1536, after a journey across from Texas, started the story of a rich land to the north, with DeSoto, Cortés, and the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, disputing for the right to discover and conquer the area. Fray Marcos de Niza, as the viceroy's agent, won the privilege for the king's representative, and his fabulous story produced the great *entrada* of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, in 1540, with its march to Kansas and back via the pueblo Indian country. An excellent translation of Mendoza's instructions to Fray Marcos, of his official narrative, and the certifying documents, is subjected to a searching analysis, especially the vital question whether he actually reached New Mexico and saw the first of the pueblos, Hawaikuk, or was merely lying. The trail is thoroughly traced, and the report of a "greater Mexico," sent back by the African slave, Estevánico, fully assayed. Using the modern works of Carl Sauer, Lansing B. Bloom, and Henry R. Wagner, the author condemns the favorable views of Bandelier, Bancroft, Winship, Shea, and other earlier writers (p. 95). Hallenbeck concludes that "I myself know of no other character in all history who, so obviously unworthy, has been so zealously defended. So let us pigeonhole 'The Lying Monk' with the other Munchausens of history; but we cannot forget him, as one writer has recommended, for his fictionized narrative resulted in the greatest exploring enterprise ever undertaken in the New World." Whether he was merely a liar or was suffering from mental hallucinations is not made clear. The third view that he was "imaginative," is not developed. Some use of Herbert E. Bolton's views on the subject would have brought this out. One contradiction is the statement that "Winship, Bancroft, Bandelier and latterly Bloom contend that because Cabeza de Vaca saw none of the pueblos, he was not the first white man to enter the State of New Mexico. I fail to follow this reasoning. Cabeza de Vaca crossed at least seven of the counties in the state, spent several months within its boundaries, and saw a greater portion of the state than was comprised within the entire pueblo region" (p. 101, n. 106). This statement would seem to be an absolute contradiction of the thesis that Fray Marcos was a liar and had never reached the pueblo country, with which the author terminates his analysis of the narrative.

ARTHUR S. AITON, *University of Michigan*

SONORA: A DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE. By *Ignaz Pfefferkorn*. Translated and Annotated by *Theodore E. Treutlein*. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1950, Volume XII.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press,

1949, pp. xv, 329, \$9.50.) This work gives an excellent appraisal of the landscape of Sonora in the later eighteenth century; it is a natural history and a treatise on geography—man and his environment. The work qualifies as an indispensable source not only for the geography, as such, but for the history, the social organization, the ethnology, the economics, the natural resources, and the institutions of the Sonora area as observed by the author as he traveled around and lived, taking notes. The author was a German Jesuit who in 1756 began his missionary work in Sonora, where he served until 1767. In that year, at the time of the general expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its possessions, he was deported to Spain. Following “an eleven years’ hard and undeserved captivity” in Spain, the author’s freedom “was effected at the Spanish Court” through the intercession of a German elector. At the time of his arrest, Pfefferkorn was “robbed” of some of his “notes on various significant things,” which he had made for inclusion in his report. Nevertheless, he was able to salvage and take with him to Germany in 1778 a part of the writings which he had done while in Sonora. With those and other available sources, Pfefferkorn was able to publish in 1794-95, in two volumes, the work which, in English translation, with a concise introduction and erudite annotations by Dr. Treutlein, is included in the one volume under review. Pfefferkorn’s first volume deals with the plant, mineral, and animal kingdoms. The second volume relates chiefly to the main Sonora tribes, with chapters on “the establishing of the Sonora missions and their internal administration, as well as notes about Spaniards living in Sonora.” Missionary work in Sonora had been most active under Father Eusebio Kino between 1687 and 1711. What Pfefferkorn had to say about Father Kino and other missionaries constituted a real contribution to the literature on that subject at the end of the eighteenth century. Publication of modern researches on the missionaries of Sonora, made in our day by Professor Bolton and others, has relegated to relative insignificance the general account written by Pfefferkorn on the same subject—and this without depreciating Pfefferkorn’s labors. His contributions to a modern concept of the geography of Sonora will always be indispensable. To Dr. Treutlein as editor is due much credit for a difficult and painstaking job well done. The publication measures up to the high mechanical standards previously set by the University of New Mexico Press.

CHARLES WILSON HACKETT, *University of Texas*

THE LOST PATHFINDER: ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE. By *W. Eugene Hollon*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1949, pp. xv, 240, \$3.75.) Pike was born in New Jersey in 1779. His father served under Washington in the Revolution and later became captain in the regular army. Young Pike’s military career began in 1793 at the age of fifteen when he enlisted. Within six years he reached the rank of second lieutenant. Most of his military life was spent in monotonous garrison duty on the frontier where pioneer settlers needed protection. Such an assignment required resourcefulness, courage, and diplomacy. Hunger, fatigue, and danger were constantly encountered in the heroic struggle with the wilderness in Indian territory. Three highlights mark his career. In 1805 he was ordered by General James Wilkinson, governor of the newly annexed territory of Louisiana, to lead an exploring expedition from St. Louis to the source of the Mississippi River. No sooner had he returned in 1806 than he was sent to explore the headwaters of the Arkansas River. On Thanksgiving day, Pike with four of his soldiers saw the magnificent peak which today bears his name—the first Americans to view it. With horses failing, without food for two days, with snow three feet deep, temperature below zero, and wearing cotton uniforms, they could not possibly climb it. The enormous, towering, gigantic mountain, Pike named “Grand Peak,” and believed no human being could reach its

top. On the upper Mississippi he had encountered British traders on American soil; on the Arkansas, he came into contact with less friendly Spanish settlers and soldiers. They took him prisoner and carried him into Mexico, where they released him. He returned across Texas. Wilkinson's unsavory reputation and his mysterious relations to Aaron Burr seem not to have involved Pike, but he must have known of them. The author's account of the relations between Pike and Wilkinson is not wholly satisfying. During the War of 1812 Pike achieved distinction. As colonel of the fifteenth regiment, ill-supplied and with many raw recruits, he developed a well-drilled, disciplined regiment with high morale. In March, 1813, he was commissioned brigadier general. Put in charge of 4,000 troops, he led the invasion of Canada and the assault of York (Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. While the British were surrendering, a magazine exploded causing Pike's death. He was thirty-four years old. York was one of only three major battles won by American soldiers in this war. Pike's journals of his two expeditions increased the knowledge and interest of Americans in their most distant frontiers and are valuable historical documents. This and other biographies of Pike would probably not have been written had it not been for his finding "Grand Peak." To most Americans his name would have otherwise been obscured. Pike's Peak, eighteen towns, ten counties, and six bodies of water were named in his honor. Professor Hollon has explored thoroughly the limited sources available for his subject; his critical bibliographical essay will be welcomed. Unfortunately, Pike's personal papers that escaped being destroyed by fire in 1890 are few in number—a great handicap to any biographer. This accounts in part for the author's long quotations and omission of interpretative passages. This volume is the first full-length biography of Pike that has been written.

A. T. VOLWILER, *Ohio University*

PRAIRIE SCHOONER DETOURS. By *Irene D. Paden*. (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. ix, 295, \$3.75.) This book is really a second volume of the author's well-known *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner*. In the first volume, Mrs. Paden described not only the principal emigrant trail but also some of the detours such as Sublette's Cutoff and Hudspeeth Cutoff. This second volume is devoted almost entirely to two equally famous cutoffs, both of which were the causes or the scenes of some of the most tragic events of the gold rush to California. The Hastings Cutoff from Fort Bridger around the southern shore of Great Salt Lake and over terrible deserts to rejoin the main trail on the Humboldt was the most ominous of all the cutoffs. The Donner party traveled it and met so many difficulties that it could not get through the California mountains before winter snows hemmed it in and nearly all its members perished. The Lassen Cutoff was equally terrifying but did not cause such signal tragedies. These were prevented possibly by the fact that it soon won the derisive title of the Greenhorn route, a name which repelled large caravans of gold seekers. The author presents her work on a plan similar to that of the earlier book. She, with her family and others, examined every section of the route to California by the two cutoffs. She read diaries, letters, and other accounts of early emigrants and used extensive extracts from these sources or paraphrases of them. Some of this material is here published in part for the first time. Her description and accounts of the trails grow more detailed and more understanding as the story moves westward. This may be due largely to the fact that between Fort Bridger and Great Salt Lake there were few tragedies. Yet this region was significant in the fur trade, and the map and descriptions by Warren A. Ferris and other accounts throw light on the trails, the nomenclature, and fur trade there. West of Great Salt Lake occurred the tragedies of the route, and to such the writer as historian gives her special attention. This book affords an accurate description of the two cutoffs as they appear today and were a

hundred years ago, together with a dramatic account of what happened to the travelers along the way. The narrative is more definite and convincing than the fictionalized but useful *Forty-Niners* of Archer B. Hulbert. The style is fluent and carries the reader's interest with little effort on his part. Discussions of knotty questions and of trivial matters as well are often presented as conversations. Descriptions, whether of the author's observations or from early records, are generally vivid and often picturesque. It does not read as authoritatively as Parkman's *Oregon Trail* but is no less accurate. Printing, binding, and paper are excellent. Proofreading is poor. Maps are too sketchy. Illustrations are attractive and original. The bibliography is extensive but calls for more critical notes. The absence of footnotes is no defect. The book will be useful to students, and the tourist will find it fascinating and indispensable.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS, *Montana State University*

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DAVID KINLEY. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1949, pp. 167, \$3.00.) Born a Scotsman with limited means, a weak digestion, economic beliefs set in college by William Graham Sumner and fortified by a sturdy character, David Kinley ended his career as president of the University of Illinois, an honor he had earned by his labors to raise it to real university status. On the way he had taken his doctorate under Richard T. Ely, whose views he did not share but whose defense in a heresy trial at the University of Wisconsin he loyally and successfully led. His greatest service at Illinois was as dean of the graduate school, and, though he was not a good judge of men, he was a good organizer. Through those years he had the advantage of the vision and leadership of President Edmund J. James and the cushioning effect in dealing with colleagues of the gentle and patient dean of the arts college, Evarts B. Greene. He became a power in the state and a lieutenant whom James leaned on in getting appropriations through the legislature. He could rally the business and agricultural industry of the state, including Chicago, for they trusted him as they seldom do academic men. He organized the School of Commerce with high standards and supported research in agriculture that gave measurable returns. His political economy, in the older sense of that word, was always maintained with hard hitting logic, and he was not afraid to take on the whole federal government, if necessary. Nagged by ill health, he could be terribly pernickety at times and elevate minor differences into major. He respected honest opposition from those who shared his ideas of what made a university. Once when the writer, as a member of the faculty and of his executive committee, had defeated a proposal of his, Kinley came up to him after the meeting and said, "Ford, sometimes I want to throw my arms around you and sometimes I want to kick you." On that basis we got along famously. When I received a call to another institution, he generously went to President James and offered to resign his deanship in my favor and find for himself some other form of service. There is too much on his presidency which is easy to tell in terms of buildings and appropriations, support of military training, and opposition to federal support and its dangers of control, and too little about the years when as James's lieutenant he helped lift Illinois into the ranks of a great state university. The introduction to this posthumous publication, by Professor Robert M. Haig, one of Kinley's few but most distinguished students, is a worthy and discriminating tribute. It will help the reader understand the man, both his strength and the limitations that made it hard for him to write a very vivid autobiography.

G. S. F.

CALIFORNIA'S STATELY HALL OF FAME. By *Rockell D. Hunt*. [Publications of the California History Foundation, No. 2.] (Stockton, College of the Pacific, 1950, pp. xxi, 675, \$5.00.) The author's stated purpose is to provide "a comprehensive series

of biographical essays, covering all periods of development, containing not only essential facts and an evaluation of historic significance, but also a vivid, sincere appraisal of personal characteristics." Actually, we have here not essays but a series of biographical sketches which in general stress facts rather than social currents. The list is eclectic, ranging from Hernando Cortés to Jessie Benton Frémont and Ernestine Schumann-Heink. Because California is a pioneer state only recently developed, many of the men and women who have contributed to its history were born elsewhere. Nevertheless, it is startling to observe that in this collection of 104 individuals, only seven were native born. The bases of choice are admittedly arbitrary. Nevertheless, is Mark Twain's inclusion among California's literary lights entirely justified? Why do we find Kate Douglas Wiggin and not Gertrude Atherton? Why include Bayard Taylor and not Frank Norris? To this reviewer the most glaring weakness appears in the section called "Public Life and Service," which deals in small part with recent political figures (two). No discussion of California since 1900 can overlook the major political developments; yet nowhere do we find a satisfactory indication of the importance of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League or of the role played by California Progressives. Doubtless the author had his reasons for not including California's reform governor and later senator, Hiram Johnson, but if so any one of a number of less well known individuals would have helped to fill the gap caused by the omission of the titular leader of California's "bloodless revolution." Perhaps the hole might have been partly plugged by balancing the biography of General Harrison Gray Otis, the anti-reform, anti-labor, anti-Progressive proprietor of the Los Angeles *Times* with a sketch of Fremont Older, the reforming editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. A more thorough literary analysis, particularly of the writings of Henry George, Bret Harte, Jack London, and Lincoln Steffens, would have augmented the usefulness of these accounts. The style is characterized by numerous clichés and circumlocutions. No bibliography is listed, but a long list of "Selected References for Further Reading" is given.

HELENE MAXWELL HOOKER, *Washington, D. C.*

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

The annual meeting of the Association will be held this year in Chicago on December 28, 29, and 30. Headquarters will be the Stevens Hotel.

The Macmillan Company and the American Historical Association have entered into an agreement with University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, to make available to libraries issues of the *American Historical Review* in microfilm form. Sales are restricted to those subscribing to the paper edition, and the film copy is distributed only at the end of the volume year. The microfilm is in the form of positive microfilm, and is furnished on metal reels, suitably labeled. Inquiries concerning purchase should be directed to University Microfilms, 313 N. First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

With the approval of the Macmillan Company and the executive secretary of the Association, J. S. Canner and Company, 909 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts, have put Volumes I-V of the *American Historical Review* on microcards. The price for the ninety-two microcards is twenty-five dollars. They can be read through any modern flat field binocular microscope.

Other Historical Activities

The valuable noncurrent records of the League of Women Voters from the time of its organization in 1920 to 1944 have been presented by the League to the Library of Congress. When Dr. Louise M. Young, the League's representative now engaged in screening and arranging the papers, has completed her work, the group will be opened for use by qualified scholars. It comprises about 150,000 documents and consists mainly of correspondence of the national officers, reports and summaries of activities submitted to the national office by regional, state, and local units, and correspondence and other papers centering about such particular interests and projects of the League as the legal status of women, war bond drives, and the education of immigrant voters.

Photocopies of a collection of autograph letters of the presidents of the United States assembled by the late Gates W. McGarrah of New York City have been acquired through the courtesy of his grandson, Mr. Richard Helms. Each of the presidents from George Washington to Theodore Roosevelt is represented in the collection by from one to five documents of historical and political value, including several letters, notably certain Lincolniana, that have hitherto been unknown to historians.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first President in our history to leave his papers to the nation. About eighty-five per cent of the papers now housed in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, amounting to four or five million items, were opened for research on March 17. The opening exercises, held at noon in the museum section of the library, were presided over by the Archivist of the United States, Dr. Wayne C. Grover. Dr. Waldo Gifford Leland, director emeritus of the American Council of Learned Societies and a member of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, delivered the principal address, which was on the history of the establishment of the library. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Jess Larson, administrator of General Services, also spoke. The opening of a portion of the Roosevelt papers for research use means that the papers will be available to persons qualified to do writing or research work who have a serious purpose and a definite subject in mind when requesting access to the papers. The papers will not be open for browsing by the idly curious nor to very young students or others who wish to write short papers for school or club purposes. The following categories of Roosevelt papers will be restricted for the time being: investigative reports on individuals; applications and recommendations for positions; documents containing derogatory remarks concerning the character, loyalty, integrity, or ability of individuals; documents containing information concerning personal or family affairs of individuals; documents containing information of a type that could be used in the harassment of living persons or the relatives of recently deceased persons; documents containing information the release of which would be prejudicial to national security; documents containing information the release of which would be prejudicial to the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign nations; and communications addressed to the President in confidence.

The films from which the Division of Historical Policy Research of the State Department and its collaborators in France and England are publishing German (Nazi) documents will be made available with full documentation at the completion of each group or series, e.g., 1937-45. It was not found possible to do this after the publication of each volume as had been planned.

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation and Memorial Library in co-operation with the Library of Congress and with support from the Rockefeller Foundation has completed the catalogue of its collection of material put out by the League of Nations. The Wilson Memorial Library was a depository for public and for restricted material sent only to member nations. The catalogue was begun six years ago and pushed intensively in the last two years by six librarians. The library and its collections are open to the public Mondays to Fridays from nine to five-thirty at 45 East 69th Street, New York City.

The publication date of Volume I of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, May 17, was marked by a ceremony in the Library of Congress as part of the library's

sesquicentennial celebration. Introduced by Verner W. Clapp, acting Librarian of Congress, Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University, recounted something of the activities of the editor, Julian P. Boyd, and his staff and of the Princeton University Press, which is publishing the 52-volume work, since the inception of the project in 1943. Douglas Southall Freeman, chairman of the advisory committee, delivered a brief address on "The Paradoxes of Jefferson." General George C. Marshall, in an extemporaneous talk, remarked on the relative youth of Jefferson, and of Madison, Monroe, and Hamilton, at the time when they were most instrumental in shaping the destiny of their country. And finally, President Harry S. Truman read a prepared address praising the Princeton project and pointing out the need for similar editions of the papers of other men important to a full realization of the history of the United States in all fields of activity. It was the first time in the century and a half of the Library of Congress that a President had appeared at the library on a public occasion. The ceremony closed with the presentation by President Dodds of the first copy of Volume I of the Jefferson papers to Mr. Truman and the second to General Marshall. The Princeton Press plans to issue about four volumes a year, bringing the huge project to a close about 1963. Editorial costs have been met largely through a gift of \$200,000 from the *New York Times*; the total cost of the project is estimated to be about \$1,000,000. A review of Volume I will appear in the October issue of the *Review*.

To celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of printing in North Carolina, the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, has reproduced the first book printed in the colony, *The Journal of the House of Burgesses, of the Province of North-Carolina, 1749*. The facsimile of the fourteen-page journal was made from a copy in the Public Record Office, the only one known to exist. There is a fifteen-page introduction by William S. Powell on the beginnings of printing in North Carolina. The booklet is handsomely bound and quarto size; it is distributed free to libraries upon request.

The first number of the new *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* has recently appeared. Under the editorship of the Rev. C. W. Dugmore, University of Manchester, England, and published by Faber and Faber of London, the journal will appear twice a year and will contain signed articles, reviews, and surveys of recent publication in Europe and America, covering the whole field of church history and Christian liturgy. Correspondence and contributions, as well as subscriptions (\$3.50 a year), should be sent to the editor.

Friends and former students of the late Professor Charles E. Payne of Grinnell College have united to write and publish a memorial volume entitled *Internationalism and Democracy* (Syracuse University Press, \$3.50). The title and the individual essays all fall within the interests of Professor Payne as teacher and pub-

licist. The volume was prepared for the press by Professor Stuart Gerry Brown of the Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University.

A survey of the prosopography of the later Roman Empire (A.D. 284-641) is being undertaken by a committee directed by Professor A. H. M. Jones, Department of Ancient History, University College, University of London, Gower Street, W.C.1. The vast amount of material can be covered only with the co-operation of scholars everywhere. Professor Jones invites their aid.

The Office of Education reports: "From over fifty subjects or subject-areas in which degrees were granted in 1948-49, the ten in which the highest number of bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees were conferred have been selected for comparative purposes. Among the ten subjects in which the highest number of bachelor's degrees were conferred, history ranks sixth, the range being from 61,624 in business and commerce (first place) to 7,909 in agriculture (tenth place). Among the ten subjects in which the highest number of master's degrees were conferred, history ranks sixth, the range being from 13,828 in education (first place) to 1,122 in physical education (tenth place). History likewise ranks sixth among the ten subjects in which the highest number of doctor's degrees were conferred, the range being from 749 in chemistry (first place) to 143 in theology (tenth place). Institutions that conferred the 1,700 master's degrees in history in 1948-49 are located in forty-three states and in the District of Columbia. Of the 1,700 degrees, 519 (30.5 per cent) were conferred by institutions in states west of the Mississippi River. Institutions in seven states and in the District of Columbia conferred 983 (57.8 per cent) of the total number. The four states in which the highest number of master's degrees in history were conferred are, in order, New York, Massachusetts, California, and Pennsylvania, 624 (36.7 per cent) of the total being accounted for by institutions in these states. Institutions that conferred the 228 doctor's degrees in history in 1948-49 are located in twenty-nine states and in the District of Columbia. Of the 228 degrees, 68 (30 per cent) were conferred by institutions in states west of the Mississippi River. The four states in which the highest number of doctor's degrees in history were conferred, are, in order, New York, California, Massachusetts, and Illinois, institutions in these states accounting for 115 (50.4 per cent) of them."

The executive board of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings has chosen the following men and women to serve as trustees of the recently created National Trust for Historic Preservation (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1950, p. 468): Former President Herbert Hoover; General George C. Marshall, president and chairman of the board of governors of the American Red Cross; Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank of New York; Eugene R. Black, formerly of Atlanta, Georgia, now president of the Inter-

national Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D. C.; Harry A. Bullis, Minneapolis, industrialist and chairman of the board of General Mills, Inc.; Mrs. Francis B. Crowninshield, Boston, leader in historic preservation and a founder of the Kenmore Association in Virginia; George McAneny, New York, noted conservationist, banker, former New York state and city public official, now president of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society; Major General U. S. Grant, 3d, Washington, D. C., vice president of George Washington University, chairman emeritus of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, and president of the American Planning and Civic Association; John Nicholas Brown, Providence, R. I., former assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air; H. Alexander Smith, jr., attorney, Baltimore, Maryland, a director of the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities; Horace M. Albright, formerly of California, industrialist and conservationist, president of the U. S. Potash Company, and former director of the National Park Service; and Charles Sumner Bird, paper mill executive, East Walpole, Massachusetts, chairman of the standing committee of the Trustees of Public Reservations in Massachusetts and the only American member of the council of the British National Trust. These will constitute the board of trustees of the National Trust, with the addition of the Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, the Secretary of the Interior, Oscar L. Chapman, and the director of the National Gallery of Art, David E. Finley, who is also chairman of the executive board of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. Headquarters of the two closely affiliated organizations, the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings, will be in the Octagon House at 18th Street and New York Avenue, Washington, D. C. Quarters in this famous mansion, one of the country's finest architectural monuments, have been made available through the generosity of the American Institute of Architects, a constituent member of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings.

A program of training in business records management—the first of its kind ever conducted—has begun in New York under the auspices of the National Records Management Council, a nonprofit organization established in 1947 to serve American industry in the management and preservation of business records. Begun with a grant of \$35,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, the council is sustained by contributions from co-operating universities and by business companies interested in solving the records problem. As a memorial to the late Dr. R. D. W. Connor, first Archivist of the United States, who died this year (see p. 1039 below), the executive committee of the council has established fellowships in business records management. According to Emmett J. Leahy, executive director of the council, the first three fellows to be trained under the program have been selected—one from the federal government and two former G.I.'s who are graduates of schools of business administration at Denver and New York University, re-

spectively. Additional fellowships will be granted, Mr. Leahy said, probably as many as a score in the next two years. The training program will be clinical in nature, and will consist of assignments at the new midtown branch of the Business Archives Center at 337 West 27th Street and in established company records centers, where the trainees will assist senior council staff members in the actual evaluation, control, disposal, and preservation of business records. The trainees receive grants of \$600 to \$1,500 each for a three-month screening period, after which those who qualify will receive expanded grants of \$2,500 to \$5,000 for a full year, the amount to depend upon age, experience, marital status, etc., of the individual trainee.

The American Research Center will open early in 1951 in Cairo, Egypt. The center will admit qualified students of all nationalities. As opportunity permits and facilities expand, the center will interest itself in all periods of the Egyptian past—prehistoric, Pharaonic, Hellenistic, Roman, Coptic, Islamic; in the past of other areas of the Near and Middle East; and in the present-day civilizations of the Near and Middle East. The director for the first full year (January, 1951) will be Mr. William Stevenson Smith of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, who is also lecturer on Egyptian art at Harvard University. Persons interested in the work of the center are invited to communicate with the Secretary, American Research Center in Egypt, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held under the auspices of Mills College at Oakland, California, on December 28, 29, and 30. Officers elected for the year are Walter N. Sage, University of British Columbia, president; John J. Van Nostrand, University of California, Berkeley, vice president; John H. Kemble, Pomona College, secretary-treasurer; Quirinus Breen, University of Oregon, Merrill G. Burlingame, Montana State College, David Harris, Stanford University, and Arthur R. Kooker, University of Southern California, members of the Council. Peter M. Dunne, University of San Francisco, W. Stull Holt, University of Washington, and Earl Swisher, University of Colorado, were elected to the board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*. The Committee on Awards in American History announced awards with equal credit to Alexander DeConde of Whittier College for his manuscript, "Herbert Hoover and Latin America," and to Russell R. Elliott of the University of Nevada for his manuscript, "Twentieth Century Mining Boom: A History of the Tonopah-Goldfield-Bullfrog Mining Districts, 1900-1915." The Committee on Awards in Pacific History made an award, subsequent to the meeting, to F. Hilary Conroy for his manuscript, "Japanese Immigration into Hawaii, 1868-1898." No award in European history was given this year.

The spring meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held at Davidson College on April 15. Papers were read by E. W. Knight of the Univer-

sity of North Carolina on "Southern Opposition to Northern Educational Influences before 1860" and by Chalmers Davidson of Davidson College on "Catawba Springs, Carolina's Spa." D. C. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History reviewed the publications program of the organization.

The Library of Congress announces that under its sponsorship an international colloquium on Luso-Brazilian studies will be held in Washington, October 18-21. In this colloquium, an integral part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the library, Vanderbilt University is co-operating and the governments of Brazil and Portugal are taking an active part. The stated purpose of the colloquium is to serve as a means of arousing interest, particularly in the United States, in the culture of Portuguese-speaking people and to call attention once more to the permanent and universal elements in the traditions of Portugal and Brazil. Professor Lewis Hanke has been sent to Europe, chiefly Portugal and Spain, to act for the library in enlisting distinguished foreign scholars and institutions as participants. Attendance is open to anyone interested. The work of the colloquium will be divided into five sections. The session on cultural anthropology is being organized by Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University; that on literature by Dean Edwin B. Williams of the University of Pennsylvania; that on history by Professor Alexander Marchant of the Institute of Brazilian Studies of Vanderbilt University; that on fine arts by Professor Robert C. Smith of the University of Pennsylvania; and that on the instruments of scholarship by Professor Engel Sluiter of the University of California. Scholars in the field may submit papers even if they do not attend. It is planned to publish the proceedings. The executive committee for the organization of the colloquium is comprised of Professor Francis M. Rogers of Harvard University, who will serve as general chairman of the colloquium; Dr. Lewis Hanke, director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, secretary general; and Professor Manoel Cardozo of the Catholic University of America, associate secretary general. Professor Charles R. Boxer of the University of London and Dr. Christovam Leite de Castro of the National Council of Geography, Rio de Janeiro, have assisted the committee with their advice. Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

An international, nongovernmental conference on the history of World War II in the West will be held in Amsterdam, September 5-9, 1950, under the auspices of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation. The aim of the conference is to facilitate contacts between historians in the field and, subject to considerations of national security, to exchange information on existing programs of documentation, research, and historiography. Limited to World War II in the West, the conference will discuss the western European and Mediterranean theaters, the war in the air and at sea, and the general war effort of the United King-

dom and the United States. Further information may be obtained from Dr. L. de Jong, Executive Secretary of the Organizing Committee, Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, Herengracht 479, Amsterdam.

The Committee on International Exchange of Persons of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils announces that agreements have been signed with Australia, Egypt, Iran, Turkey, and India but that no programs have been initiated to date by these countries. Until such time as the programs are announced, the Conference Board committee is recording the names of persons wishing to apply for a Fulbright award in any of these countries. As each program is inaugurated, application forms and other necessary information will be sent to those interested. Applications for Fulbright fellowships in the United Kingdom and British colonial dependencies, Belgium and Luxembourg, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Burma, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Norway for the academic year 1951-52 will be accepted by the Conference Board committee in the late summer or early autumn (1950) when the programs for that year are available. At that time application forms and information regarding the appropriate program will be sent to all persons who have expressed interest in making application for an award in one of the foregoing countries. It is too late to apply for an award for the academic year 1950-51 in these countries. Inquiries and requests for blanks should be addressed to Mr. Gordon T. Bowles, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1950-51 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Samuel J. Konefsky, Brooklyn College, a volume on "Holmes and Brandeis: A Study in the Influence of Ideas"; Bray Hammond, Washington, D. C., a history of banking in the United States and Canada, 1781-1937; Samuel Lubell, New York City, a study of the Roosevelt political heritage; Julian Towster, Russian Institute of Columbia University, a study of the mechanism, methods, and personnel of the Soviet foreign office and foreign service; Harold Robert Isaacs, New York City, nationalism in southern Asia and American policy in relation thereto; Marshall Clagett, University of Wisconsin, the early history of science, particularly the history of physics and calculus; Chester G. Starr, jr., University of Illinois, freedom of thought in the Roman Empire; Robert McQueen Grant, University of the South, the relation between early Christianity and Hellenistic science; Aubrey Diller, Indiana University, studies of Ptolemy's "Geography"; Gilbert Arthur Highet, Columbia University, a study of Juvenal; Edith Porada, New York University, ancient Near Eastern seals; Gregory Vlastos, Cornell University, development of the moral and political concepts of Greek democracy; Herbert Bloch, Harvard University, Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino; Gebhart B. Ladner, University of Notre Dame, influence of the early Christian idea of reform on medieval and Renaissance civiliza-

tion; Kenneth Meyer Setton, University of Pennsylvania, Athens in the Middle Ages; Pearl Kibre, Hunter College, studies of the rights, privileges, and immunities of medieval universities and scholars; Hjalmar Rued Holand, Ephraim, Wisconsin, studies of Norse expeditions to pre-Columbian America; Dietrich Gerhard, Washington University, stabilizing forces in European history from the twelfth to the nineteenth century; Richard Krautheimer, Vassar College, the Florentine sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti, 1378-1455; Martin Sebastian Soria, Michigan State College, painting and sculpture in Latin America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century; Howard Irving Chapelle, Cambridge, Maryland, design of American sailing ships and other craft to 1820; John Hope Franklin, Howard University, study of Northern civilization, 1800-1860, as seen by Southern travelers; George Edwin McMillan, Aiken, South Carolina, a social history of the South, 1930-1948; Bertram D. Wolfe, New York City, a sequel to his history of the Russian Revolution; William Haller, Barnard College, history of Puritanism; Francis Harper, Rensselaerville, New York, William Bartram, 1739-1823; Jay Leyda, Los Angeles, California, the life and creative development of Emily Dickinson; Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, Westport, Connecticut, E. George Squier, 1821-1888, American archaeologist and engineer; Charles Maurice Wiltse, Washington, D. C., John Caldwell Calhoun; James Zachary Rabun, Emory University, Alexander H. Stephens, 1812-1883; Robert Donald Clark, University of Oregon, Bishop Matthew Simpson, 1811-1884, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America; Rosamond Gilder, Barnard College, a history of the modern American theater.

The trustees of the Huntington Library take pleasure in announcing the following awards for the academic year 1950-51. *Fellowships*: John Robert Moore, Indiana University, Defoe; Paul Kocher, Claremont Graduate School, interrelationship of science and religion in Renaissance England; George R. Price, Michigan State College, textual and bibliographical analysis of Thomas Middleton's plays; George Sensabaugh, Stanford University, Milton and the Whig rise to power; Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore, government and society in the Quaker colony. *Grants-in-aid*: Charles R. Anderson, Johns Hopkins University, cultural history of Charleston and Southern society; Richard Beale Davis, University of Tennessee, Virginia culture in the Jeffersonian era; Richard B. Harwell, Emory University, literary history of the Confederate States; Richard Hoopes, Stanford University, studies in the formulation and development of the classical-Christian concept of "right reason"; John L. Livesay, University of Tennessee, effect of Bacon's writings in the seventeenth century; Frank H. Lyell, University of Texas, *Sir Charles Grandison*: Study of the marginalia of Richardson and Lady Bradshaigh and Richardson's consequent revisions; F. Wilson Smith, Columbia University, social ethics of the American moral philosophers. The trustees of the library also take pleasure in announcing that the Rockefeller Foundation of New York has made a grant of \$5,000 a year for five years to continue the library's

"study of the economic, social, and cultural development of the Southwest" begun in 1944 by a \$50,000 grant from the same foundation. The trustees of the library have allocated \$25,000 to supplement the Rockefeller Foundation's second grant. Part of the combined funds are to be used for fellowships and grants-in-aid. Applications for all fellowships and grants-in-aid for the academic year 1951-52 should be addressed to the chairman of the fellowship committee not later than March 1, 1951, and preferably a month or two earlier.

William R. Leslie and Gerald S. Brown of the University of Michigan have been awarded faculty research fellowships by the university for the summer of 1950. Professor Leslie will investigate some of the legal and constitutional aspects of the Gaspée incident based on manuscript materials in the Clements Library. Dr. Brown will do research in the field of the recent relations of the United States and Canada with special reference to World War II. William B. Willcox of the same university has been awarded a faculty research grant for the purpose of editing and preparing for publication Sir Henry Clinton's history of his campaigns in America, 1775-82, a two-volume manuscript among Clinton's papers in the Clements Library.

The Pulitzer Prize for 1949 in history went to Oliver W. Larkin, professor of art in Smith College, for his *Art and Life in America* (Rinehart). Samuel Flagg Bemis, professor of history in Yale University, was the winner of the biography award for his *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (Knopf).

Arthur E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan has been elected a corresponding member of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Charles S. Sydnor of Duke University will be Harmsworth professor of American history in Oxford University for the academic year 1950-1951.

Chester H. Kirby has been promoted to a full professorship in history in Brown University.

Arthur P. Dudden has been appointed assistant professor of history in Bryn Mawr College.

Selig Adler has been promoted to associate professor of history and government in the University of Buffalo.

George E. Mowry of the State University of Iowa is teaching in the University of California summer session.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, sr., gave the Taft Memorial Lectures on American history at the University of Cincinnati in March. Teaching in the summer session of that university are Louis M. Sears of Purdue University and Harry Stevens of Duke University.

Erving E. Beauregard has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Dayton.

David Lattimer of Ohio State University has accepted a position at Denison University for the coming year.

Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College is visiting professor of history in Emory University for the current summer quarter.

James J. Flynn has been named chairman of the new social studies department in Fordham University. A. Paul Levack, associate professor of modern history in Fordham, has been appointed chairman of the department of history in the university's graduate school of arts and sciences.

James E. Roohan of Yale University has been appointed assistant professor of American history in the State University of Iowa.

A. Stanley Trickett has recently accepted election as dean of the university at Kansas Wesleyan University, Salina. He assumed his new duties in January.

A. T. Volwiler of Ohio University is teaching at Michigan State College during the current summer session.

Frederick H. Cramer has been promoted to professor of history in Mount Holyoke College.

David F. Long has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of New Hampshire.

Saul K. Padover, professor of history and political science in the New School for Social Research, has been named dean of the school of politics.

Brooke Hindle, formerly research associate at the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, has been appointed associate professor of American history in New York University and will take up his duties there in September. He is teaching this summer at Northwestern University.

Dwight L. Smith, instructor in the department of history of Ohio State University, has been appointed, on a part time basis, to the staff of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society as a research historian.

LeRoy H. Fischer and George E. Lewis have been promoted to associate professors of history in Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

The University of Pennsylvania announces the appointments of Thomas Childs Cochran of New York University as professor of the history of the people of the United States, of Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Manitoba as Henry Charles Lea associate professor of medieval history, and of G. Marshall Dill of Stanford University as assistant professor of modern European history. Paul Schrecker has been appointed professor of philosophy in the same university.

John H. Kemble and John H. Gleason have been promoted to full professorships of history in Pomona College.

Wesley Frank Craven of New York University has been appointed Edwards professor of American history in Princeton University.

Richard H. Jones has been promoted to professor of history in Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

Klemens von Klemperer has been promoted to assistant professor of history in Smith College.

John C. Miller, formerly of Bryn Mawr College, has been appointed professor of American colonial history in Stanford University, where he has been visiting professor during the past year. Rixford K. Snyder, associate professor of history, will take over September 1 as the university's new director of admissions. On the Stanford summer staff are William T. Hutchinson, Andrei A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, and August C. Krey.

Leonid I. Strakhovsky has been appointed visiting professor of Russian history and literature in the department of Slavic studies at the University of Toronto for 1950-51.

Norton Downs of Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania, has been appointed instructor in history at Trinity College, Hartford.

Gerhard Masur of Sweet Briar College is teaching modern European history in the graduate school of the University of Virginia during the summer session.

Thomas James Pressly has been promoted to assistant professor of history in the University of Washington.

On the summer staff of Whittier College are Everett Walters of Ohio State University for the first term and John F. Ramsey of the University of Alabama for the second term.

Alfred Whitney Griswold, who has been professor of history in Yale University, was named president of the university on February 12, to succeed Charles Seymour. Dr. Griswold assumes his new duties on July 1.

RECENT DEATHS

Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, Craige professor emeritus of jurisprudence and history in the University of North Carolina, died February 25, in his seventy-second year. Born in Wilson, North Carolina, he was graduated from the university in 1899, was engaged in public school work for five years, was employed in the state department of public instruction for three years, and in 1907 became secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, which had been created as a result, largely, of his efforts. Under his guidance it became one of the most effective agencies of the sort in the country.

A devoted son of the university, he served as a trustee from 1913 to 1920, most of the time as secretary of the board, and was for four years president of the Alumni Association. In 1921, after a year's study at Columbia University, he became Kenan professor of history and government at the University of North Carolina, and served until 1934 when President Roosevelt, upon the nomination of the council of the American Historical Association, appointed him to the newly created office of Archivist of the United States. His work in organizing the National Archives and getting it into operation enlarged his already high reputation in that field. The President, in accepting Dr. Connor's resignation, wrote that he had "not only laid the foundation but built the actual structure of an extremely important and permanent repository of American historical source material."

He returned to the University in 1941 to fill the newly created chair already referred to. He retired January 1, 1950.

He took part in various other professional activities. He was a member of the Committee of Nine of the American Historical Association in 1914, of the National Board for Historical Service in 1917-18, president of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, the Historical Society of North Carolina, and the Society of American Archivists.

His more important writings were concerned with the history of his native state, the best known being his *North Carolina—Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth*. At the time of his death he was bringing to completion the first two volumes of a documentary history of the University of North Carolina. His work

is notable for scrupulous accuracy, based upon exhaustive research, keen analysis, and an easy and delightful style.

He was a born teacher, deeply interested in his numerous students, and an inspiration to them. "A thorough knowledge of his subject was only part of his equipment. He was forceful and lucid; and he had a keenness of mind, a pungency and spicing of humor" that made his lectures—and the talks in his study—provocative and delightful. With balanced and sound judgment, he was an acute critic of men, measures, and events. A guide and leader, his opinions and advice were constantly sought by his students, associates, and colleagues and held in high esteem. A wise, genial, and affectionate friend, his passing leaves a gap in the lives of the many who have known, admired, and loved him.

Alfred Henry Sweet, Linn professor of history and chairman of the department of history at Washington and Jefferson College, died April 22, 1950, following a brief illness. Dr. Sweet was born in Methuen, Massachusetts, September 8, 1890, and graduated from Bowdoin College in 1913. As a Longfellow graduate scholar he received his master's degree at Harvard in 1914. He won further distinction at Cornell as President White scholar in history, 1916–1917, receiving his doctorate in 1917. Besides his many duties as a graduate student Dr. Sweet found time to serve as an instructor at Hobart College for a brief period in 1916 and to study abroad in 1916–1917. Following his graduation he remained at Cornell as a member of the history faculty for three years, serving subsequently for one year each at the University of Colorado and at Washington University in St. Louis. In 1922 he was appointed Craig professor of history at St. Lawrence University. In 1925 he became professor of European history at Washington and Jefferson College. Dr. Sweet possessed an unusually penetrating mind, combined with a wide and profound scholarship, which earned for him the prompt recognition and respect of his fellow historians and scholars. His textbook in English history and his many other publications, his lectures as visiting professor in several American universities during summer sessions, and his continuing interest and activities in the American Historical Association, the Mediaeval Academy, and the Royal Historical Society greatly expanded his already established reputation both here and abroad. His students and colleagues at Washington and Jefferson knew him as a brilliant lecturer and teacher and a willing adviser. He was always a resourceful and untiring leader in all the academic and community activities in which his restless spirit had become interested. His many friends and acquaintances everywhere will note with real sorrow his early death.

Frank Edgar Melvin, professor of history at the University of Kansas, died March 19 at the age of sixty-eight. He had taught briefly in the University of Illinois, the University of Pennsylvania, and Cornell University. He received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania in 1913. His dissertation was later pub-

lished under the title *Napoleon's Navigation System: A Study of Trade Control during the Continental Blockade* (New York, 1919). His later teaching and research was primarily in the period of the revolutionary and Napoleonic period. He was a life member of this Association.

Carter G. Woodson, well known for his path-breaking work in the field of Negro history, died in Washington, April 3. He was born in 1875 in the most humble circumstances. Only his own determined efforts enabled him to attain an education at Berea College, the University of Chicago, and Harvard University, where he received his doctorate in 1912. He taught in the Philippines, in a Washington high school, in West Virginia State College, and in Howard University. Despite the burdens of teaching and modest salaries, he pursued unceasingly his research and publication in his chosen field. Single-handed, he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the *Journal of Negro History*. In time he received modest grants from foundations to support his work, but often the expenses were deductions from his own salary. A steady stream of articles and monographs appeared over his name with the interruption only of a year of study in Europe and Asia. From his extensive bibliography his volume *The Negro in our History* is perhaps the most important. He had retired from teaching some years ago to devote himself to research and writing. He never married. His undivided loyalty was given with missionary devotion to presenting the contributions of his people to the culture of his country.

Edward C. O. Beatty, professor of history at the Northern Illinois State Teachers College in DeKalb, Illinois, died on March 6, following a cerebral hemorrhage. He was born in 1894 in Quincy, Illinois. After graduating from the University of Illinois with honors in 1916, he later continued his studies at the University of Chicago on the Henry Milton Wolfe fellowship and received his doctor's degree in 1933. He wrote the essay on Herbert Levi Osgood in the volume prepared in honor of Marcus Jernegan. In 1939 he published through the Columbia University Press a volume on *William Penn as Social Philosopher*. He saw military service in both World Wars, in the last one serving as a captain with the forces in the Pacific. A member of this Association, he was active throughout his life in promoting historical scholarship and good teaching.

Kathleen Bruce, who was known to many of the older members of the American Historical Association of which she was a life member, died April 26 in Richmond, Virginia. She began her historical career through the publication, by the Carnegie Revolving Fund, of her volume *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (1930). This solid study was an outgrowth of her doctor's thesis at Radcliffe College. She taught at Wheaton College in Norton, Massachusetts (1924-26) and for the five following years was professor of history in the College of William and

Mary. She was later, for brief periods, on the staff of Tulane University and the University of Richmond.

Dorothy Culp of the University of Connecticut died on March 2 at the age of thirty-nine. A graduate of Smith College summa cum laude, she received her doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1938. She taught at Wesleyan College (Macon, Georgia), Wilson College, and New Mexico State Teachers College before going to the University of Connecticut in 1942, where she endeared herself to all with whom she came in contact and inspired the deepest respect professionally. At the time of her death she had completed her research and practically all the writing on a life of Charles Ray, one of the prominent figures connected with the *Chicago Tribune* in the Civil War period. Professor E. A. Moore, chairman of the department of history in the University of Connecticut, wishes Miss Culp's friends to know that the university is setting up a Dorothy Culp Memorial Scholarship Fund as the most fitting way to carry on her liberal and humane interests.

Jeanne Elizabeth Wier, professor emeritus of history, University of Nevada, died on April 14 at the age of eighty. Dr. Wier, who was the founder (1904) and secretary of the Nevada Historical Society, had been a member of the department of history and political science of the University of Nevada from 1899 to 1940.

Luther P. Jackson, head of the department of history in Virginia State College, Petersburg, died on April 13 at the age of fifty-seven. Dr. Jackson began his teaching career in South Carolina and had been on the staff of the college since 1922.

Harold J. Laski, known almost as well in this country as in England and knowing both countries equally well, died March 24 at the age of fifty-six. He was an exceptional lecturer and writer. As a teacher he was stimulating and gave of his learning to a wide range of young scholars who sought his advice. He had held a professorship of political science in the University of London since 1920. Before that he held lectureships at both McGill and Harvard Universities. His academic duties did not prevent him from being almost a one-man brain trust for the Labour party.

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